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ABSTRACT

This theme issue focuses on professionalism in teaching. It begins with an article in Viewpoints/Controversies titled "A Renewed Sense for the Purposes of Schooling: The Challenges of Education and Social Cohesion in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe, and Central Asia" (Stephen P. Heyneman; Sanja Todoric-Bebic). In Open File: Professionalism in Teaching section, the articles are: "The Paradoxical Profession: Teaching at the Turn of the Century" (Andy Hargreaves; Leslie N. K. Lo), "The Principled Professional" (Ivor F. Goodson); "Strategic Intentions for Professionals in World-Class Schools" (Brian J. Caldwell); "Professionals and Parents: Personal Adversaries or Public Allies" (Andy Hargreaves); "When Teaching Changes, Can Teacher Education Be Far Behind?" (Miriam Ben-Peretz); "Professional Development in the United States: Policies and Practices" (Ann Lieberman; Milbrey McLaughlin); "Educational Reform and Teacher Development in Hong Kong and on the Chinese Mainland" (Leslie N. K. Lo); and "From Agents of Reform to Subjects of Change: The Teaching Crossroads in Latin America" (Rosa Maria Torres). (BT)

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Andy Hargreaves and Leslie N. K. Lo, Editors

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NUMBER ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEEN

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PROFESSIONALISM IN TEACHING

GUEST EDITORS:
ANDY HARGREAVES
AND LESLIE N.K. LO

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VIEWPOINTS/CONTROVERSIES

A RENEWED SENSE FOR THE PURPOSES OF SCHOOLING: THE CHALLENGES OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL COHESION IN ASIA, AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA, EUROPE AND CENTRAL ASIA

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In the last half of this century, over 100 countries have emerged anew in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe and Central Asia. Though far from uniform, many countries have written new constitutions guaranteeing individual freedoms and liberties, encouraged private economic and social organizations, declared private ownership of property to be legal, encouraged entrepreneurial private enterprise, and fostered new political and trade relationships with international organizations and foreign countries. Many have guaranteed freedom of worship, travel both in and outside the country of origin, the freedom to participate in debate on public policy, and the freedom to vote for public leaders.

However, the understanding of these freedoms has not been perfect, nor has their articulation been a guarantee of adherence to them. Untested by experience, democratic principles have proved to be an imperfect tool for effectively establishing domestic policy. Historical tensions have emerged among ethnic, religious and linguistic groups. New tensions have resulted from the inconsistency of legislative and legal institutions and the precipitous growth of inequality in income, property and economic power. Some countries have had to face the challenges arising from widespread illegal behaviour, public corruption and the breakdown of the legitimacy of public institutions. Adjudicating mechanisms, police and security officers, courts of law and the laws themselves have failed to keep pace with the evolving needs of the environment in which they operate. Additionally, the media and local elected officials have sometimes proved to be uncertain of their new functions, unfamiliar with democratic traditions and professional standards of listening to all sides, and open to corruption. The result has often been a growth in social tension.

The question is whether educational mechanisms can lower social tension and help achieve social cohesion. What is the experience to date with the social utility of education mechanisms? This paper will summarize the experience in meeting the challenges of social cohesion and hence economic development. It will review recent experience in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe and Central Asia. At the end of the paper there is a brief summary, which reaches three conclusions.

The **first** is that **the social cohesion function of education is at the heart of each nation's education system**, and one of the main reasons why nations invest in public schooling. The **second** is that **some school systems accomplish this better than others**. In fact, it is possible to judge the performance of an education system as much on the basis of its contribution to social cohesion as on its attainment of learning objectives. The **third** is that the **social cohesion objectives and concerns are not uniform** around the world. There are countries in some regions that are concerned primarily with ethnic identity, while countries in other regions might be concerned with public corruption or illegal behaviour. But, regardless of the emphasis placed on social cohesion in different regions, one element appears to be true throughout: countries, faced with a tendency to splinter, use public education to reduce the risk of that happening.

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Sub-Saharan Africa

Countries in sub-Saharan Africa have experienced a multitude of dictatorial regimes since independence. The number of these regimes has declined in the last decade and progress in democracy has been coupled with the strengthening of civil society. Moreover, the last few decades have seen a steady economic decline that has frustrated the programmes of public institutions. Four different approaches to nation-building have emerged.

Developing common nationality while preserving minority languages and cultures. Nigeria has over 90 million inhabitants, 250 ethnic groups, 400 languages and a wide variety of religions. It has been independent since 1960; it had a civil war in 1967 and has had periodic civil unrest since then. The National Policy on Education lists unification as one of the basic objectives of the country's education system. While over 10 million people speak Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, English was adopted as the official national language. The Universal Primary Education scheme was initiated in 1976. As a way of forging national unity, the curriculum focuses on global, not local, concerns. It cultivates both a sense of nationalism and a sense of the importance and value of diversity.

Quickly developing a unique new culture resulting from the synthesis of previously existing groups (Cross & Mkwanazi-Twala, 1998, p. 17). In this approach, pursued in Chad, Ghana, Mozambique and the United Republic of Tanzania, the school system is assigned a central role in creating a unified sense of nationhood, using a central language of instruction and centrally prescribed textbooks and curricula. For example, the Mozambican Liberation Front (FRELIMO) adopted a strategy of national amalgamation, concentrating educational policy on global and national concerns. Centrally prescribed curricula and textbooks were used, and Portuguese was adopted as the language of instruction. According to critics, this approach under-estimated the complexity of the Mozambican socio-cultural reality (Cross & Mkwanazi-Twala, 1998, p. 230). The concept was static and did not take into consideration cultural diversity.

Gradually developing a national culture concentrating on the expansion of the educational infrastructure. The Government of Zimbabwe, for example, has chosen to address the qualitative aspects of the country's education sector (aims of education and the core curriculum and methodologies) at a much slower pace with more flexibility, and without direct state intervention. While there has been an impressive expansion of the school system, the urban–rural differences still persist. New textbooks favour accounts 'which assert African dignity and pride, the rich legacy of pre-colonial history, and the colonial oppression' (Cross & Mkwanazi-Twala, 1998, p. 25). However, the approach did not include 'positive and proactive strategies to eliminate social and economic imbalances at national level' (ibid. p. 26). Barriers to access still persist.

Developing unity within diversity. In South Africa the focus is on forging national unity while allowing for diversity. The approach to diversity is not simply

additive, i.e. adding units or lessons on different ethnic groups, but transformative, with the purpose of questioning and transforming the 'canons, assumptions and purposes that underlie the curriculum' (Nkomo, 1998, p. 139). The assumption underlying this approach is that 'prejudicial attitudes and behaviors, if learned through the medium of socially constructed culture, must of necessity be deconstructed and reconstructed through the process of multicultural education' (ibid., p. 141). The emphasis here is not so much on creating a nation as on a 'civic consciousness, with overarching or generic common ideals that are unifying and to which all citizens can subscribe' (ibid. p. 142). There is a debate in South Africa on whether the core curriculum, essential for this purpose, should be developed through democratic consultation with all relevant constituencies, or be prescribed by the government. The ultimate goal is the creation of a civic consciousness that 'promotes a sense of common citizenship with generic values but is accommodating and tolerant of other identities' (ibid., p. 144).

In the case of South Africa, the attempt at reconciling national unity with cultural diversity is made more challenging by the presence of ethnic and linguistic minorities, regional claims to autonomy or cultural identity, the influx of migrants and socio-economic conflict (Cross & Mkwanazi-Twala, 1998, p. 30).

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL COHESION ISSUES

Language of instruction. Ethnic rivalry has often prevented use of a single indigenous language, thus leading many countries to adopt English, French, Portuguese or Spanish as the language of instruction. Other countries have chosen a small number of local languages in the first years of school, hoping for a smooth transition to a national language later. Somalia and the United Republic of Tanzania chose local languages to help stimulate national integration, in spite of the fact that neither language had previously been used in higher education. South Africa chose English over Afrikaans. In Namibia, at its independence in 1990, only 5% of the population spoke English; nevertheless, English was adopted as the official language with the purpose of 'uniting all Namibians, irrespective of race, into one national entity' (Lemmer, 1998, p. 310). However, the majority of Namibian teachers lack the English proficiency necessary for effective teaching in that medium. In addition, in many classrooms a 'three language medium situation is found: English, Afrikaans and mother tongue. Some observers fear that this is creating a new elite' (Lemmer, 1998; Datta, 1984). There are debates as to whether expectations about English as the gateway to social, political and economic mobility were realistic.

With Shona and Ndebele spoken by 80% and 15% of the population respectively in Zimbabwe, English was kept as the official language at independence in 1980, while Shona and Ndebele were elevated to national languages. In anglophone Africa, English is overwhelmingly regarded as the language of upward mobility, and this has frequently led to the replacement of a racial elite by a social status elite, since the use of English disproportionately benefits the affluent and the urban populations.

Some of the benefits expected from the adoption of an international language, especially English, as the medium of instruction include more rapid familiarity with technical terminology and concepts, upward occupational mobility, enhanced nation-building, facilitation of international and pan-African co-operation, and an increase in democratic participation. In the case of countries that have adopted English, symbols are used in education to demonstrate Africanness and foster national unity, instead of indigenous languages.

STRUCTURAL APPROACHES TO SOCIAL COHESION

Equality of opportunity. A number of African countries have experimented with educational institutions in which pupils are selected by quota from different regions (such as Nigeria's Federal Government Colleges) or residential/boarding secondary schools (common in West Africa and anglophone Africa). Such selection policies are based on the idea that exposure to people from other ethnic, racial, religious and linguistic groups will increase tolerance. Some observers point out that the possibility of interaction among diverse ethnic communities is necessary but not sufficient for nation-building. The *content* of the communication matters a great deal (Datta, 1984). In addition, if the larger society neither encourages nor accepts interaction across ethnic groups, the impact of educational policies will be limited. Finally, relative isolation from communities of origin can reinforce attitudes of elitism and exacerbate divisions by education levels. On the other hand, without inter-regional interaction, even in a limited circumstance such as in secondary schools, widely diffuse populations in a large and diverse nation may not have any opportunity to experience one another.

Universal primary education. Programmes to reduce regional, ethnic and religious imbalances are common in sub-Saharan Africa (Lemmer, 1998, p. 261). However, imbalances usually persist at post-primary levels. Political rivalries, hidden curriculum, school organization, and formal versus informal messages conveyed by schools may interfere with the cohesive role of formal education. While the official curriculum may emphasize a national orientation, this may not always be stressed in practice by the teacher or administrator. In many countries, the school system is the focus of regional and ethnic disputes. In the case of Kenya's Harambee Institutes of Technology twelve such institutes were opened in the 1970s in response to the demand by politicians for establishments in their own areas. The distribution of educational institutions was not based on need or careful policy planning but rather on whims of local politicians. Trends in employment, as well as diverging levels of economic prosperity within and among targeted groups, can also reduce the impact of education as a force for change.

Administration, organization and school governance. Teaching practices and social relations in the classroom can reinforce or discredit the content of instruction. In many African countries, the classroom environment is hierarchically structured in terms of distribution of space and communication. Most schools in Africa retain a traditional hierarchical structure of authority rather than a participatory

and democratic structure. The goals of democracy sometimes contrast sharply with the style of the classroom. In fact, the governance of the ministry of education itself, with so small a formal arena for professional responsibility, may reinforce attitudes and behaviour that are antithetical to the content of the civics curriculum.

The role of the teacher in political socialization. In environments where classrooms are organized around the teacher's position, students are not given the necessary experience in interaction and decision-making that can effectively introduce them to their future democratic and participatory roles as citizens. The adoption and modelling, on the part of the teacher, of participatory and democratic classroom practices can contribute to the formation of democratic values among students.

Latin America

For the first time in their history, most Latin American countries now have democratically elected governments, a promising fact in a region that has experienced considerable instability over a number of decades. On the other hand, there has been an increasing social polarization along economic lines because of the changes in the economies. Social stratification is one of the central regional challenges to social cohesion. Social, political and economic violence is a major concern, and illegal behaviour—particularly the drug traffic and institutional corruption—is often viewed as threatening to national purposes and goals.

Attempts to counter these practices are made more challenging by lack of experience with democratic institutions in many of the Latin American countries, including a widespread unfamiliarity with the privileges and rights, and the obligations and responsibilities, of citizenship. In the education sector, issues of privatization and a crisis in quality are the most prominent items on the regional agenda.

Most Latin American and Caribbean countries are not in the initial phases of nation-formation. Debates on issues of social cohesion and nation-building were prominent in the nineteenth century (and continued in the revolutionary societies of Cuba in the 1960s and Nicaragua in the 1980s), while now the discourse of economic development and social stability is paramount. However different, Latin American education systems are characterized by deeply ingrained structural inequalities between public and private municipal and state systems. This systematic inequality reduces public confidence that there is equal opportunity, which is a necessary underpinning for social cohesion. Where private systems of education designed for children of the wealthy contrast with a state system of schools of generally lower quality for children of the underprivileged, the school system can be said to be a handicap to the social cohesion goals of the wider society.

SOCIAL COHESION PROBLEMS

In the education sector, inequalities are most prominently displayed in the distinctions between urban and rural populations (which sometimes correspond to linguistic and cultural differences) and among urban social and economic groups.

A structure of inequality gives rise to differential identities, posing a challenge to a unified sense of national identity, namely that elites may differ from the masses in their political commitment to and psychological association with the nation. In this context, the system of elite recruitment for leadership positions has direct implications for national identity. On the one hand, as Albornoz suggests, it 'provides considerable continuity, efficiency and stability, but corruption and influence peddling which are pervasive throughout the system erode public confidence'. Also, the system locks out the poor and underprivileged middle classes, leading to constant tension (Albornoz, 1993, p. 4).

Some believe that in Latin America elite members of society share similar characteristics throughout the region, thus leading to social cohesion based on group rather than nation. For instance, Albornoz points out that the Latin American elite has:

> developed a certain regional homogeneity. Upper-class children have a more homogeneous school curriculum than their counterparts in poor schools even within the same country. Venezuela, for example, has two highly different sub-systems, one for the wealthy and one for the poor, one which is managed by the private sector and the other managed by the state (Albornoz, 1993, p. 117).

Throughout the region, urban schools are better resourced than rural ones, high- and medium-income brackets are better equipped, and in ethnically mixed societies the 'white' schools do better than those for children of mixed or 'pure' ethnic origins. Some countries have fewer problems than others. In Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Guyana, Jamaica, Mexico and Venezuela the school inequalities are less pronounced than in Bolivia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Peru and Suriname.

Spatial remoteness and particular religious or linguistic orientations can eclipse the sense of nationality. Some indigenous populations in very remote areas may not recognize that they are part of a larger nation.

Even when legislation exists at the national level to equalize access to education for the indigenous and immigrant populations, implementation can be sketchy. With its confluence of Spanish and indigenous traditions, Mexico has experienced a separation between written rights and daily practices in local languages. And even where Quechua has been elevated to a national language, as in Peru, it has not led to equalization in access and social mobility.

Some suggest that Latin American schools have spread the ideology and culture of the nation-state but have done so by dissociating themselves from civil society and by remaining closed to participatory decision-making (Puiggros, 1999). Although most agree that schools educate for democracy both explicitly and through a 'spontaneous pedagogy of democracy', citizenship education has placed emphasis on facts rather than on democratic skills and values (Tenti Fanfani, 1993, p. 58–60; Villegas-Reimers, 1994, p. 24). Ministries of education typically present civics-related courses either as a separate subject or as a theme integrated into other subjects (Tibbitts & Torney-Purta, 1999, p. 13). A 1993 Latin American survey on civic education found that the predominant teaching for civics was traditional lectures

(ibid., p. 17). This manifest curriculum is rarely coupled with the promulgation of democratic ideals through the hidden curriculum (participatory methodology, an active role for pupils in decision-making at the classroom/school level, and the organization of the school environment, among others).

An alternative vision emerged in the late 1980s, calling for a new model, one which emphasized the building of democracy through the promotion of interactive and social competencies. History curricula began to incorporate indigenous populations, immigrants, women, different religions, as well as regional differences, with the ultimate goal of reconstructing a 'shared imagery' which is to form the foundation of a common national identity. For example, curricula in the Rio Negro Province in Argentina include a course in history, where high-school students jointly work on a project called 'Adolescents here and there, then and now'. The goal of the exercise is to discover the diversity of their origins and to explore cultural diversity in past and present generations of Argentinians. Ultimately, students not only acquire analytical competencies but also 'reconstruct and enrich a shared imagery, which is the basis of national identity' (Braslavsky, 1993, p. 48).

Multigrade Escuela Nueva in Colombia is another model of education for democracy. Initiated in 1975, it is being implemented in some 20,000 Colombian schools (Puiggros, 1999, p. 51). This approach focuses directly on methodological innovation and uses a student-centred approach to instruction to promote attitudes and values related to democratic decision-making and participation (Tibbitts & Torney-Purta, 1999, p. 25). Escuela Nueva is designed to maximize the involvement of students by giving them the opportunity to make decisions and bring their own knowledge into the environment. Students are supposed to learn democracy by directly experiencing it through participation in student government and action committees. Parents and communities are also actively involved in the educational process.

Asia

Asia includes a wide range of different societies, from Islamic and socialist countries to capitalist democracies, many of which are also characterized by complex multiculturalism. These circumstances make ethnicity, language and religion central concerns in the context of nation-building and social cohesion. Generally speaking, most of the countries in the region have placed either national unity or economic growth/manpower preparation at the centre of their educational agendas.

APPROACHES TO NATION-BUILDING

Diverse societies such as India, Indonesia and Malaysia put more emphasis on the role of education in forging and maintaining national unity. More homogeneous countries, for example Japan, have stressed the contribution of education to workforce formation in their educational planning. A third group of countries, including China and Singapore, have put both social cohesion and economic growth at the centre of educational policy.

Schooling for national unity. Malaysia has pursued an approach to education policy typical of a multiracial society: creating a unified identity by fostering the development of a national culture, 'based on the cultures of the ethnic groups of the region, incorporating elements of other cultures which are suitable and appropriate, and with Islam as an important element in its formulation' (Thomas, 1992, p. 22). Achieving a greater unity of all peoples, a democratic way of life, a just society in which wealth should be shared, a liberal approach to diversity, and a modern society oriented towards science and technology, as well as belief in God and loyalty to country, are central tasks of the country's educational system.

Role of moral education in promoting social cohesion. A number of Asian countries have opted for the inclusion of moral education in both primary and secondary school curricula as a way of promoting cohesiveness and national unity. Planners in diverse societies such as India, Indonesia and Malaysia have based the content of moral education curricula on a societal consensus on 'universal values' which transcend particular religions or ethnicities. In environments plagued by intergroup conflict based on religion or ethnicity, it is hoped that such a subject will contribute to a sense of national identity by concentrating on shared values rather than on differences.

Malaysia's Integrated Curriculum for Secondary Education identifies sixteen universal values that do not conflict with any of the religions, cultures and norms of Malaysian society. These are as follows: compassion/empathy, self-reliance, humility/modesty, respect, love, justice, freedom, courage, cleanliness of body and mind, honesty/integrity, diligence, co-operation, moderation, gratitude, rationality and public spiritedness (Hashim, 1996).

In practice, however, there is a gap between the values espoused by the planners and the reality of implementation. For example, Muslim students in Malaysia are more likely to attend classes in Islamic education, while moral education classes are designed almost exclusively for non-Muslims. The segregation of Muslims from non-Muslims in the area of moral education 'does not help in improving understanding and appreciation of values among the various communities' (ibid., p. 147). Also, languages other than Malay, English and Arabic are rarely taught, and non-Malays are sporadically and often inaccurately represented in textbooks. An analysis of textbooks widely used in Malaysia revealed, for example, that the majority of texts 'seem to have interpreted "Malaysian" as "Malay" with little inclusion of other groups, such as Chinese, Indians, Sabahans and Sarawakians. Also, less than 15% of passages analyzed showed the various groups interacting with each other at work or play' (Mukherjee & Khairiah, 1988, p. 153).

Multiple languages of instruction as a challenge to social cohesion. Many countries in the region are struggling to find a balance between validating the cultures and languages of their heterogeneous populations, and discouraging separatism based on these. A central concern in this regard is the language of instruction.

In Malaysia, for example, school children are segregated early in life through primary education because the majority of Chinese and Tamil children attend separate schools, with Mandarin and Tamil respectively as the medium of instruction (Hashim,

1996, p. 143). In reality, students of various ethnic groups only begin to meet and socialize in secondary schools, a fact which cannot be considered conducive to national unity. If opportunities for mutual discussion and deliberation, as well as opportunities to exercise democratic decision-making, are missing from the school experience, attempts at forging lasting national unity will remain limited and superficial.

India has opted for a three-language formula in both primary and secondary education, comprising Hindi, the local language and English. This policy, however, poses numerous challenges. First, communication between different groups across this vast nation can be complicated because, in reality, very few people can communicate in their native language, Hindi and English. Also, the three-language formula has not been universally accepted, and even where it has been, its implementation has been uneven. In addition, in Hindi-speaking areas languages other than Hindi and English are rarely taught (Singh, 1993).

The existence of multiple policies regulating the education of minorities in multicultural societies, while hopeful, does not guarantee their adequate implementation. Beyond that, other important curricular considerations need to be analysed. How are authority and superior/subordinate relations depicted in curricular materials? What is the profile of interaction between dominant and minority groups that emerges? To what extent do policies isolate and alienate ethnic minorities? Is there a balance between dominant and minority values projected in texts? (Mukherjee & Khairiah, 1988, p. 162). Regional biases in representation are also pervasive.

Textbooks and social cohesion. The 'minority' nationalities in China number about 80 million, or 8% of the whole population. As Bass points out,

> For China's stability and prosperity, it is vitally important that all its nationalities identify with China. This has always been stated as the major political reason for promoting 'minority education' [...] While Han Chinese were to be educated to provide technical personnel for economic development, the overriding goal of education for 'minority' nationalities was to encourage political allegiance towards China and enhance stability in border areas (Bass, 1998, p. 10).

In essence, the curriculum is directly linked to the question of the 'stability' of the whole country.

What the Chinese party/State wants and needs is a bilingual education system capable of producing people who are both 'ethnic and expert' (Postiglione, 1999, p. 124).While the multiplicity of languages and religions was perceived as a threat to national unity in the past, since the beginning of the Four Modernizations period, both national minority languages and the need to close the gap between minority and Han Chinese achievement in education have been emphasized. There are still many challenges: educational materials in national minority languages are not sufficiently available, especially in sciences; as a result of many languages in use, students from different ethnic minorities attend different schools, making ethnic segregation common; speakers of minority languages who are not fluent in the majority language have limited access to broader occupational opportunities, etc. (Postiglione, 1999).

A key issue concerns 'what the school does to minority culture, through representation, textbooks and notions of "backwardness" of certain minority groups, such as Tibetans' (Postiglione, 1999, p. 14). The impact of schooling on both ethnic and national identity depends on what is taught, how it is taught and how it is evaluated. Thus, the diversity among China's minority population does not appear to be fully reflected in the content of schooling, even though minority languages are emphasized in many regions. In the 1990s, following what the Chinese Government perceived as an upsurge in Tibetan nationalism, textbooks were rewritten to emphasize more strongly the indissoluble unity of Tibet and China.

In some cases, textbook content has been identified as contributing to civil conflict. One example is that of Sri Lanka.

The population of Sri Lanka is divided into many groups, but the two largest are the Sinhalese (74%) and the Tamils (18%). They speak different languages and practise different religions (Buddhist and Hindu). In the 1950s national identity in Sri Lanka was an important issue as it is today for the new countries in the Europe and Central Asia region. On the basis of an interpretation of 'minority rights' prevalent forty years ago, Sri Lankan school populations were segregated ethnically, as were all textbook materials and supplies. The content and tone for the country's history were decided by the central ministry of education.

In a review published years later, however, pedagogical materials were discovered to be far from equal, and not based upon an inter-ethnic consensus either on content or on tone. The dominant historical image presented in the early textbooks was that of a 'glorious but embattled Sinhalese nation repeatedly having to defend itself and its Buddhist traditions from the ravages of Tamil invaders' (Nissan, 1996, p. 34). Damaging messages conveying images of Tamils as the historical enemies of the Sinhalese were scattered throughout Sinhalese textbooks. National heroes were chosen whose reputations were based on, among other things, victories over Tamils in ethnic wars. On the other hand, Tamil text materials emphasized historical figures whose reputations were based on, among other things, accommodation with the Sinhalese. In neither of the texts were there positive illustrations drawn from the other ethnic group. There was no attempt to teach about the contribution of Tamil kings to Buddhist tradition or the links between Sinhalese kingdoms and Buddhist centres in India. Language texts were largely mono-cultural in content, with few references to other ethnic groups (ibid., p. 36).

Because the texts were culturally inflammatory, and because there was no effort to balance the prejudices stemming from outside the classroom with more positive experiences and illustrations within the classroom, Sri Lankan schools can be said to have achieved the opposite of the intention of all good public school systems. Instead of laying a foundation for national co-operation and harmony, which is the basic rationale for public schooling, they laid the intellectual foundations for social conflict and civil war.

Promoting social cohesion through homogeneity: Japan. The 'uniqueness' of Japanese culture, the 'homogeneity' of the Japanese, and 'Japaneseness' are emphasized in civics education, because they are said to transcend factionalism and pro-

vide a unifying function (McVeigh, 1998, p. 193). 'Japaneseness' is defined in ethnic terms, and identity is defined according to physical traits. The 'sameness' of the Japanese as a value is reinforced in the choice of Japanese language usage as a part of moral education. Many schools include 'proper language use' as a part of moral education. Nationalizing rituals include the 'unofficial' national anthem and flag, which the Ministry of Education has 'advised' schools to use in school functions in recent years, over the objections of some who find it reminiscent of Japan's imperial history (ibid., p. 114).

The sense of belonging to a group and, by extension, to a nation is instilled in Japanese students through school organization as well. Students are members not only of grades, but also of 'groups' which 'cut vertically through different grades, further integrating a student into a school's group life' (ibid. p. 155).

A central component of becoming a good citizen is moral training. Since 1962 the Japanese Ministry of Education has mandated that all students in primary schools (ages 1–6) and junior high schools (ages 7–9) receive thirty-five hours of moral education every year. The emphasis of these classes is on how best to interact with others in a group setting. The requirement is based on the underlying belief that proper self-cultivation results in family harmony, which leads to effective governing of the nation and ultimately the world. Although both Japanese and American schools are said to be successful in instilling moral values, the values chosen to be emphasized differ substantially. The American system emphasizes respect for students, whereas the Japanese system emphasizes the responsibility of students (Ban & Cummings, 1999, p. 81).

The Ministry of Education also prescribes twenty-two values that primary and middle school students should learn. These are divided into four categories, the fourth being 'relation to group and society'. The list of core values under this heading includes 'to love the nation through an awareness of being Japanese', and 'to be aware of being Japanese in the world' (McVeigh, 1998). Civil society is rooted in nation-building and maintaining an orderly, predictable and controlled environment that is conducive to economic pursuits.

Europe and Central Asia

THE CHALLENGE OF OVERCOMING THE INHERITANCE

One common impression is that education under the Party/State was both effective and excellent. However questionable the evidence of academic quality, it is nevertheless clear that the education system under the Party/State was effectively delivered. Access to schooling was universal, even in rural areas. Literacy among adults was nearly universal. Female representation in higher education was near parity. Since the structures were already in place at the beginning of the transition, could these achievements not continue?

The educational challenge of an open society. Creating an effective and excellent education system in an open society and multi-party democracy is significantly

different and profoundly more complex than it was under the Party/State. There is little experience in the Europe and Central Asia (ECA) region in meeting the new demands.

Curriculum challenges in open societies in transition generally fall into three categories. First, there is the challenge of pedagogy. The emphasis must shift to the complexities of student learning as distinct from the content of teaching. Next, there is the challenge of introducing new subject-matter which often has no precedent in the region—Western economics, accounting methods, civil rights law, business administration and the like. Last, and by far the most complex, are the changes necessary in the teaching of civics education, social studies and history.

Student learning. Under the Party/State, students were treated as receptacles for information. Despite the existence of a long liberal local tradition in pedagogical philosophy (Ushinsky, Vygotsky and Tolstoy), the Soviets reduced the accepted expertise in education to a few simple principles, none of which included differences in student interest, motivation or orientation.

As a task it is simpler to articulate the changes in teaching philosophy than it is to demonstrate changes in the classroom. To be sure, there is a long way to go before the changes in philosophy represent a normal experience for students. Nevertheless, the problems of implementation in the transition may not be significantly more complicated than in other education systems around the world. Successes achieved so far should not be minimized. The wide acceptance of the need to move away from fixed-formula teaching towards treating students differently on the basis of their learning style and interest is one of the greater success stories of the transition. It is fair to speculate, however, that this success has been achieved because the demand for pedagogical change was local in origin and the mechanisms to effect it were domestic in design. The same cannot be said of the other two categories of curriculum challenge.

New subject-matter. Administering an economy by planning it, and managing a political system by enforcing debateless policy, imply a set of intellectual underpinnings very different from those required by a free-market, open democracy. Under the Party/State, studying 'economics' was analogous to how Westerners might classify a training course for public administration. Emphasis was placed on how to plan. On the other hand, under the Party/State there was a prolific range of engineering courses of study because technology was considered politically 'safe' and useful for state production.

Today there are examples in the ECA region of new curricular content in many of these areas of study. However, the new curricula sometimes result from direct, and often imperfect, translations of Western precedents and can be presented in the classroom with the stultifying didactic style that characterized the Party/State. Thus, a curriculum change is not necessarily the solution to the problem.

On the other hand, there are ample examples of good precedents where new curricula are designed specifically for the ECA region's students, and in a pedagogically modern manner that underpins new principles of student learning. One illustration is the economics curriculum designed in collaboration between the SLO (the

Dutch national curriculum organization) and Moscow State Pedagogical University. This curriculum explains the nature of economics, and that various aspects of economics differ depending on one's own role and function. There are chapters which require the student to see economics from the viewpoint of different roles: that of a public citizen, a property owner, a producer, a consumer, a participant in a financial market, an insurer and, finally, a head of a family with a tight budget (Levitsky & van den Broek, 1995).

Civics, social studies and history. By far and away the greatest educational challenge in the ECA region, and the problem with the widest implications outside the region, is the problem of teaching civics, social studies and history. Three important reasons need to be mentioned by way of background. First, of the twenty-seven nations in the ECA region, none are monolingual, mono-ethnic or mono-religious.

Second, while organization of the school system is hardly uniform throughout the region, the authority to design the curriculum is now in many instances a local responsibility. No longer is there a single political party to enforce discipline and standardize content. Even where there is a national curriculum, such as in the Russian Federation, the application of the curriculum, by design, is not standard. Classroom teachers have more professional latitude to interpret, to target pedagogy and content differently, and to place emphasis based on local needs as seen by local authorities. How can a country raise national standards but at the same time encourage local curricular control? One successful method is that used in Hungary.

The Hungarian performance standards are inspired by democratic values. They are designed to give equal weight to the interests of the individual and to those of the wider community. They are designed to balance the national standards containing the fundamental 'domains' that all citizens need with a considerable latitude in curricular and pedagogical choice that supports professional and institutional autonomy. The national performance standards are designed to use less than two-thirds of school time, with one-third left for local preference with regard to objectives and content. Performance objectives are always organized not by subject-matter, but by comprehensive domains. This enables schools to choose, establish and group material in a manner they believe to be the most effective. National performance standards do not determine the objectives by grade level, but set out stages of objectives to be met in years 6 and 10. They require that schoolteachers understand and choose from a multitude of privately produced educational materials. This requires a significantly higher standard of educational professionalism on the part of teachers than when all materials were centrally designed and supplied (Hungary, Ministry of Culture and Education, 1996).

Third, ethnic, linguistic, racial, national and religious differences take on a different characteristic in the ECA region in comparison with other parts of the world. In the first place it is not clear, from a linguistic point of view, what is meant by 'nationality' and what is meant by 'ethnicity'. Until 1997, for example, Russian citizens carried an identity card (an internal passport) which listed their 'nationality'—Buriat, Jew, German, Kazak, Russian etc. All were 'Russian citizens', but with different 'nationalities'.

In addition, many ethnic and religious histories are inflammatory owing to the particularly harsh political tradition in the region. There are grievances in the former Party/States that are for the most part unparalleled in the West, resulting in unique educational complications (Broxup & Bennigsen, 1983; Broxup, 1992, 1994; Anweiler, 1992; Rywkin, 1990; Kirkwood, 1991; Karavetz, 1978; Shadrikov, 1993; Wheeler, 1962; Shorish, 1991, 1984).

In the former Party/States minorities were in many instances forcibly moved for political reasons. German-speakers were relocated to Siberia away from the war front. Korean-speakers were moved to Central Asia. Jews, Cossacks, Tatars, Buriats, Poles, Georgians and many others were relocated to distant and unfamiliar territory. Until now, these displaced peoples had no genuine political voice or authority regarding what they wished to teach the young. Now they often have both a voice and authority. More important, there are few institutional traditions of democratic procedures, such as local school boards, to act as constraints. Using the curriculum to remedy 'old wrongs' is one of the first demands of local ethnic authorities. Given this history of persecution on so many sides and from so many different sources, it is not surprising that the first temptation among ethnic authorities is to redress past wrongs through the curriculum in public schools. This gives rise to new problems.

Since there are no traditions of consultation on curricular issues and since there is a long-standing tradition of authoritarian curriculum enforcement, it is natural that new, locally designed curricula may exacerbate rather than reduce tension. One illustration is that of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the curriculum was designed (within the same country) by different ethnic authorities without any enforcement of a consensus.

Additionally, ethnic bias and hatred are apparent in the accounts of history recorded in textbooks. A section of a Bosniak text entitled 'Genocide and ethnic cleansing' reads:

> Horrible crimes committed against the non-Serb population of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Serb-Montenegrin aggressors and domestic *chetniks* were aimed at creating an ethnically cleansed area where exclusively the Serb people would live. In order to carry out this monstrous idea of theirs, they planned to kill or expel hundreds of thousands of Bosniaks and Croats. They had at their disposal the entire technical equipment and weaponry of the former JNA [...] The criminals began to carry out their plans in the most ferocious way. Horror swept through villages and cities. Looting, raping and slaughters [...] screams and outcries of the people being exposed to such horrendous plights as the Bosniak people experienced [...] Europe and the rest of the world did nothing to prevent the criminals from ravaging and slaughtering innocent people (Heyneman, 2000, forthcoming).

To question whether this text is appropriate is not a matter of whether the events described occurred. The two issues must be separated. The public school experience is intended to mould the desired behaviour of future citizens. Therefore, citizens from all different ethnic groups must feel comfortable about the content of the public school curriculum. If one or more groups is uncomfortable, the school system

has abrogated its public functions. This Bosnian illustration is an example of where abrogation of public function occurred. Bosnia needs a textbook policy that has criteria for approving the textbooks to be used in all schools and which would not exacerbate the problems in the relationships with its neighbours.

The central education dilemma. In the ECA region, there are two alternative principles, equally legitimate, which conflict with each other. One principle is the demand for national identity on the part of the twenty-seven nations. The problem is where to draw the line between the need for a national culture and the rights of local minorities. Will ethnic minority interests be better protected in an independent country such as Kazakhstan than they were when Kazakhstan was a part of the USSR? This question is not unique to Kazakhstan, but rather is a universal issue to varying degrees throughout the ECA region.

The other half of the problem pertains to the rights of the majority or the rights of the national community. Their educational interests are no less compelling: the Kazaks in Kazakhstan; the Latvians in Latvia; the Romanians in Romania, etc. What is to protect the national community from extremist versions of history as portrayed by curricula designed by minority populations? What are the rights of the national community as regards having a sense of compromise and historical dignity ascribed to their national culture by minority populations in their own country? What protection does the national community have against the possibility that a minority community within the same country may encourage loyalty to another nation where their ethnic group is more numerous? The problem of civics education has multiple sources, and therefore must involve multiple solutions. Not all solutions can be incorporated under the heading of 'rights of minorities'. None of these conventions address this other side of the equation.

On the other hand, there have recently been efforts by the professional education community to establish a set of international standards for civics education. These standards go to the heart of the necessity for compromise. Instead of attempting to establish the rights and privileges of minority populations, they attempt to delineate the obligations and responsibilities of all populations, majority as well as minority.

The proposed international professional guidelines include standards of many kinds. They include standards for curriculum content—for example, presenting different views of history and different opinions about its contemporary relevance. They include a set of terms to identify different levels of critical thinking: being able to identify a concept; describe it; explain it; evaluate a position on it; take and/or defend a position concerning it. They include a set of standards for 'participation' in civics: being able to manage a conflict, build a consensus, influence others by moderating someone else's view, etc. Lastly, there are standards proposed for terminology used in civics—civil society, constitutional rights, private opinion, citizenship obligations and the like. The net result of these components constitutes an international precedent because it establishes for the first time an international standard for curriculum excellence in civics.

The purpose of establishing an international professional standard is to actively draw up a set of principles against which each country and each local curriculum

authority may measure its own civics curriculum (Center for Civics Education, 1994; CIVITAS, 1995; Heyneman, 1995*b*, 1995*c*, 2000 (forthcoming)). If this effort proves successful, national authorities throughout the region will have a professional benchmark by which they can hold local curriculum authorities responsible. The opposite also applies: local and minority curriculum authorities will now have an international benchmark by which they can judge the degree to which national curricular authorities are fair and balanced in their views of history and civil rights and responsibilities.

Conclusion

It is not fair to conclude that schools, even effective schools, will inevitably prevent social tension or produce responsible citizens. Nor is it fair to suggest that a civics curriculum, even when well designed, will lessen international conflict. What it is fair to say is that, at the end of the twentieth century, public schools are asked to perform more or less the same task as they were asked to perform at the beginning of the seventeenth century—that of trying anyway.

They are asked to make young people into responsible citizens, sometimes in environments where adults and public institutions may themselves be irresponsible. They are asked to provide a safe haven from prejudice when the wider community is full of prejudice. And they are asked to generate feelings of equality when the school systems themselves are living examples of an inequitable world.

What can we learn from this *tour d'horizon* of regional experience? Can we conclude that the task of the school is hopeless? Can we conclude that the effect of the school system is marginal? The answer is no. It is not fair to conclude that schools have not lived up to their task. On the other hand, if there were no schools, would the chances of civil harmony increase? Would citizens be more likely to be responsible? Would there be more understanding of the economic exigencies?

While it is obvious that the task of schools is similar in different parts of the world, it is not identical. The task in the ECA region is to better prepare a new generation for democratic responsibility and the sense of nationhood, beyond ethnic nationality. In Africa, the task is to introduce citizens of all ethnic backgrounds to their public institutions and to create a common yet reasoned expectation for the public sector. In Latin America, the task is to combat the inordinately great distortions in the school systems themselves, instill a sense of efficacy in local and community responsibility, and establish a consensus on legitimate public behaviour. In Asia, the task is to introduce democratic concepts of accountability and transparency consistent with the regional culture. The fact that only one Asia 'tiger' had a curriculum where 'corruption' was defined and discussed suggests that one major regional challenge is the sin of omission.

In general, schools provide a necessary but insufficient civics educational experience for young people. On the other hand, at no time in history have civil behaviour and attitudes been more in demand. The future holds prospects for improvement of school effectiveness. International standards for civics education are under review.

New institutions and organizations are becoming involved in civics education for reasons of international security and diplomacy. And UNESCO itself may be able to be appreciated by the world for one of its original and unique functions—that of promoting and evaluating the effectiveness of civics education around the world.

This paper has attempted to respond to the notion that public education in the next century will return to a concern for its purposes. From our point of view it is clear that the concern with the citizenship-enhancing role of public education, one of its original functions, will continue to be one of its most important and most appreciated functions in the future.

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THE PARADOXICAL PROFESSION: TEACHING AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

Andy Hargreaves and Leslie N.K. Lo

Introduction

Teaching is a paradoxical profession. Indeed, today it is a uniquely paradoxical profession. Of all the jobs that are professions or aspire to be so, teaching is the only one that is now charged with the formidable task of creating the human skills and capacities that will enable societies to survive and succeed in the age of informa-

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tion. Even—and especially—in developing countries, it is teachers, more than anybody, who are expected to build learning communities, create the knowledge society and develop the capacities for innovation, flexibility and commitment to change that are essential to economic prosperity in the twenty-first century.

At the same time, public expenditure, public welfare and public education are among the first expendable casualties of the slimmed-down State that informational societies and their economies seem to require. Just when the very most is expected of them, teachers appear to be being given less support, less respect, and less opportunity to be creative, flexible and innovative than before.

Teachers, in other words, are caught in a dilemma. They are expected to be leading catalysts of the informational society, yet they are also one of its prime casualties. This is a daily challenge for teachers themselves and a policy challenge for those who want to reform and improve teaching. The papers that we have drawn together for this Open File in *Prospects* address the paradoxes that affect the present and future state of teaching, and they also examine what a new professionalism might or should look like in these seemingly paradoxical, uncertain and rapidly changing times.

Each of the papers wrestles with the ideas behind and the conflicting realities of teacher professionalism in today's post-modern, informational society. Ivor Goodson, for example, searches for what he calls a more principled professionalism. This professionalism, he argues, should not copy the classical professionalism of law or medicine which might lead to teachers becoming self-serving and remote from the children and communities they serve, nor should it become so practically focused that teachers cannot understand or connect with the world beyond the walls of their school. Brian Caldwell looks for a 'Third Way' in teaching, one that can somehow forge a path between and beyond the recent rivalries of market and State. Can we move beyond a situation where teachers are secure (but also dependent) State employees on the one hand, or temporary-contracted self-developing entrepreneurs who create (but can also become too preoccupied with) their own careers on the other? Andy Hargreaves suggests that teachers might best build confidence in their own work, as well as create stronger public and taxation support for it, if they open up more to parents and communities and develop a new social movement for educational change. Leslie Lo, meanwhile, examines how well the Western idea of professionalism does or does not equate with Asian traditions of teaching in Hong Kong and mainland China.

Catalysts and casualties

Since the start of mass schooling and with its spread across the world, public education has been repeatedly burdened with the expectation that it can save society. Schools and their teachers have been expected to save children from poverty and destitution; to rebuild nationhood in the aftermath of war; to develop universal literacy as a platform for economic survival; to create skilled workers even when there is little demand for them; to develop tolerance amongst children in nations where

adults are divided by religious and ethnic conflict; to cultivate democratic sentiments in societies that bear the scars of totalitarianism; to keep developed nations economically competitive and help developing ones to become so; and, as the United States' *Goals 2000 for education* proclaimed, the way educators prepare the generations of the future should eliminate drug dependency, end violence in schools and seemingly make restitution for all the sins of the present generation.

In the thirty years following the Second World War, education in the world's leading economies was widely viewed as an investment in human capital, in scientific and technological development, and as a commitment to progress (Halsey, Floyd & Anderson, 1961). Booming demographics in what Eric Hobsbawm (1995) calls 'the golden age of history' led to a call for more teachers, optimism about the power of education, and pride in being a professional as a young generation of teachers developed the bargaining power to raise their salaries, became an increasingly well-qualified and more graduate-based profession, and were accorded greater status and sometimes flexibility and discretion in how they performed their work. This was what one of us has called the *age of the autonomous professional* (Hargreaves, 2000) when many teachers benefited from expanding populations, prosperous economies and benign governments.

Developing countries inherited rather different legacies, however, and had a disproportionately tiny share of the world's wealth with which to address them. Aid was directed largely at establishing and extending basic primary or elementary education and to creating the fundamental literacy levels that were regarded as essential for attaining economic 'lift off' and independence. But resources were limited, class sizes were (and often still are) overwhelming, technologies could be basic in the extreme (with stones for seats and sand for chalkboards in some cases), and teacher qualifications and expertise were poor. At the secondary level, smaller elites often learned the curricula of their colonial masters. They were taught it in ways that separated them from their experience and, as a result, drew them away from their own people (Willinsky, 1998). Teaching remained confined to what one of us has termed a *pre-professional age* (Hargreaves, 2000), where poorly paid and ill-prepared teachers had a restricted range of teaching strategies. These might have suited the immediate circumstances, but they also became ingrained in teachers' and other people's imaginations as the only possible way to teach.

The oil crisis of 1973 and the collapse of Keynesian economics brought an end to optimistic educational assumptions in many of the developed economies of the West. Education suddenly became the problem, not the solution. Welfare States began to collapse, and, with them, resources for education in debt-burdened economies. Western nations turned inward and many lost their confidence as they were cast into the shadows of the rising Asian economies. Meanwhile, demographics went into reverse, student populations shrank, teachers lost their market attraction and bargaining power, and the bulk of the remaining teaching force began to age.

In academic circles, pessimism about the power of education as an agent of social change defined the mood of the times. Christopher Jencks (1972) argued, on the basis of large quantitative data sets, that education did little to remedy social

inequalities. Basil Bernstein's (1976) seemingly prophetic argument that 'education cannot compensate for society' began to strike many chords, and Popkewitz (1998) argued that history repeatedly assigned misplaced faith in schools as agents of social redemption.

Having once been the crucible of social optimism, education now became a target for purging, despair and panic. Where there had been little previous tradition of it, governments tried to link education more closely to business, work, science and technology. Structures were reorganized, resources slimmed down and policies of market choice and competition between schools began to proliferate. Curriculum control was often tightened and, in some places, linked to the explicit task of re-establishing pride in the nation. Change became ubiquitous and was implemented with an escalating sense of urgency. And teachers were blamed for everything by everybody—by governments, by media and by the newly instituted league tables of school performance that shamed the 'worst' of them (usually those who taught children in the poorest communities).

The result was extensive pressure on teachers whose average age in many OECD countries by the early 1990s was well into the 40s (OECD, 1998). Burnout, morale problems and stress levels all increased (Dinham & Scott, 1997; Vanden Berghe & Huberman, 1999)—even in countries like Japan where educational reform cycles started later (Fujita & Wang, 1997). Many teachers started to feel deprofessionalized as the effects of reform and restructuring began to bite (Jeffrey & Woods, 1996; Nias, 1991; Hargreaves & Goodson, 1996). Teachers experienced more work, more regulation of their work, and more distractions from what they regarded as being the core to their work (teaching children) by the bureaucratic and form-filling burdens of administrative decentralization (Hargreaves, 1994; Helsby, 1998).

The economic miracle of the 'Asian tigers' of Hong Kong, Singapore, the Republic of Korea and Taiwan, along with the rising sun of Japan, led Western policy-makers to oversimplify the contributions of these societies' education systems to their economic success. International test results in maths and science provoked sufficient public anxiety and provided necessary ammunition for Western governments to reform their education systems. This often led to greater standardization (and accompanying deprofessionalization), whereas the emerging information economies actually called for greater flexibility—as the unexpected economic downturns in and collapses of Asian currencies in the mid- to late-1990s belatedly led them to recognize (Shimahara, 1997).

Meanwhile, all the educational downsizing and restructuring seemed to be no more helpful for reversing or ameliorating educational and social inequality than the movement of deckchairs might have been for saving the *Titanic*. Rates of child poverty expanded and exploded in the United Kingdom, the United States and elsewhere (Castells, 1996). There was no sign that restructuring measures narrowed the learning gap between schools in rich and poor communities (Wylie, 1994). And in sub-Saharan Africa and parts of South America especially, what Castells (1998) calls a Fourth World began to emerge. This is a world of absolute destitution; a succession of famines, epidemics and other ecological disasters; and inter-tribal genocide as the postcolonial era gave rise to (usually Western-supported) political dic-

tatorships whose corrupt regimes divided their nations, marginalized their poor and personally sequestered most of the educational and other resources that economic aid agencies tried to give them. If the project of teacher professionalism was sometimes a cause for disappointment in developed nations, elsewhere it was all too often an unattainable dream.

Such have been the dubious educational legacies of the dying industrial and imperial era of modernization in the final quarter of the twentieth century. But, at the century's turn, a new economy and society, emerging from the ashes of old industrialism, have begun to take shape—what Castells (1996) calls *the informational society*. It is in this society that hopes for educational and social reconstruction are being widely invested in developed and developing countries—and schools and their teachers are vital to its core mission. As one of us argued in *Changing teachers, changing times* (Hargreaves, 1994), teaching is changing and must change in the post-modern age of information.

The informational economy and society are rooted in and driven by the development, expansion and circulation of globalized electronic, computer-based and digital information and entertainment.

> In the industrial mode of development, the main source of productivity lies in the introduction of new energy sources, and in the ability to decentralize the use of energy throughout the production and circulation processes. In the new informational mode of development, the source of productivity lies in the technology of knowledge generation, information processing and symbolic communication. [...] What is specific to the informational mode of development is the action of knowledge upon knowledge itself as the main source of productivity [...] in a virtuous circle of interaction. [...] Industrialism is oriented towards economic growth [...] towards maximizing output; informationalism is oriented towards technological development [...] towards the accumulation of knowledge (Castells, 1996, p. 16–17).

It is not just that knowledge matters as a basis for scientific and technological expertise and control, as Daniel Bell (1973) imagined in his classic text on *The coming of post-industrial society*. Rather, in the constantly changing, self-creating informational society, knowledge is a flexible, fluid, ever-expanding and ever-shifting resource. It is not just a support for work and production, but the key form of work and production itself. These new ways of generating, processing and circulating knowledge are absolutely central to what many experts now call the learning society or knowledge society. And the role of education and teaching in such a society is absolutely vital.

Robert Reich (1992), President Clinton's former Secretary for Labor, described how the new shapers and drivers of the knowledge society would be the 'symbolic analysts' who would be able to solve and identify problems, think strategically, and communicate as well as work with others effectively. Such symbolic analysts, Reich argued, require forms of educational preparation that would enable them to be highly skilled in working with symbolic abstractions, in systems thinking (seeing how parts and whole, cause and effect are interrelated), in creativity and experimentation, and in collaboration (p. 229–33). Schools and teachers, he argued, have

served students and society poorly in failing to prepare many of them, especially the most disadvantaged, with these capacities.

Manuel Castells, an adviser on high-level expert 'Think Tanks' on social reform in Eastern Europe and the developing world, argues that becoming switched on to the informational society is just as important a priority in developing countries—if not more so. In the last decade or so, he notes, those countries most excluded from the informational economy, or which have been the latest starters with informational technology, have fared least well economically. Indeed, failure to invest in informational technology and to spread its access (with accompanying free flows of information) beyond the military to civil society was one of the prime causes of the collapse of Soviet communism. Nations that do not participate in the informational society, he shows, will become increasingly marginalized by it. Teachers again are central to developing the informational society everywhere.

> Education is the key quality of labour; the new producers of informational capitalism are those knowledge generators and information processors whose contribution is most valuable to the firm, the region and the national economy (Castells, 1998, p. 345).

As catalysts of successful informational societies, teachers must therefore be able to build a special kind of professionalism—a new professionalism, where they can learn to teach in ways that they were not taught themselves (Talbert & McLaughlin, 1994); where they can develop classroom strategies that will enhance the new goals of learning required of a symbolic analyst; where they can commit themselves to their own lifelong learning going far beyond the point of initial qualification; where they can work effectively with and be eager to learn from other teachers in their own schools and elsewhere; where they see parents and communities as sources of learning and support and not simply as sets of obstacles; and where they can become their own skilled change agents, responding swiftly and effectively to the social and educational changes swirling all around them. These are some of the directions that a new professionalism in teaching needs to be taking.

At the same time, educators, through their professionalism, are expected to ameliorate the worst effects of the new informational society: the widening gaps between rich and poor; the immersion of young people in a culture of 'real virtuality' (Castells, 1997); the tendency for people to consume globalized lifestyles as individuals, rather than produce society together for a common good (Touraine, 1995); and the risks of conflict and violence posed by cultural diversity and the defensive postures resulting from ethnic, religious and nationalistic rivalry.

New professionalism therefore carries social and emotional as well as technical and intellectual components—to establish emotional bonds with and among children, to lay down the building blocks of empathy, tolerance and commitment to the public good (Hargreaves, 1998). Of course, caring for children has always been a salient quality of people's most memorable teachers. But even more is needed of teachers now than when Albert Camus wrote—in *The first man*—of his own teacher during his poor Algerian childhood: a man whose method 'consisted of strict control

on behaviour while at the same time making his teaching lively and entertaining, which would win out even over the flies' (Camus, 1994, p. 112). More is needed even than the caring that women primary teachers have shown their children for decades, or than the emotional bonding which Japanese teachers forge paternalistically or maternalistically with their dependent students (Shimizu, 1992). Indeed, caring in this restricted sense can sometimes place poor children in a welfarist trap, giving them refuge from poverty without the skills and the standards that provide the opportunities to escape from it. When learners are more diverse and demanding, caring must become less controlling, more responsive to students' varied cultures, more inclusive of their own ideas, perceptions and learning requirements, more ready to involve and not just compensate for the families and communities from which students come in their quest to lift their learning to higher levels. This is the social and emotional mandate for teacher professionalism today.

While education certainly cannot end economic inequality or fully compensate for society, writers of all political persuasions point to its increasingly strategic role for stimulating and also ameliorating the effects of the new informational society. Anthony Giddens, the leading 'guru' of Britain's Prime Minister Tony Blair, reasserts that today 'improved education and skills training' are essential, 'particularly as far as poorer groups are concerned'. 'Investment in education', he continues, 'is an imperative of government today, a key basis of the redistribution of possibilities' (Giddens, 1998, p. 109).

Yet, here is the dilemma. While teachers and schools are the catalysts of change in the informational society, they are also its casualties—casualties of the weakening of the welfare safety net, casualties of reduced expenditure on the public good, casualties of students' families caught in social upheaval, casualties of the widespread decommitment to public life. In many ways, the forces of deprofessionalization listed earlier—of declining support, limited pay, restricted opportunities to learn from colleagues, work overload and standardization—have continued to intensify for teachers. The very supports that teachers need to meet the goals and demands of the informational society are being withheld and withdrawn from them, hobbling them in their efforts to make great leaps forward in their effectiveness and professionalism. Teachers in many developing economies, for example, must undertake two or three jobs just in order to make ends meet—virtually eliminating any chance of engaging in professional learning from other colleagues. This is the fundamental paradox of professionalism in teaching today.

However, not everything on the educational horizon for student performance or teacher professionalism is dark and dismal. Most governments now have a high commitment to improving education. Bill Clinton has been accorded the epithet of 'The Education President'. Tony Blair's three governmental priorities were 'education, education, education!' Commitments to debt reduction are opening up opportunities for reinvesting in the social good, including education—if commitment to the public good can be put before the private benefits of tax reduction.

Teacher demographics are also shifting in many nations, with more malleable and energetic younger teachers entering the profession in increasing numbers. At

the same time, the recruitment crises arising from these demographic shifts are heralding a climate of greater public and political generosity towards teachers and their professionalism. The reconstruction of the 'Asian tiger' economies towards the aim of creating knowledge as well as applying it is also spurring moves towards greater flexibility in Japan, 'pleasurable learning' in Hong Kong, and 'thinking schools for a learning society' in Singapore. As a result, this is changing the kinds of skills and sophistication required from teachers in these societies.

Amid all this, one of the benefits of decentralization and increasing school-based management has been the promotion of individual school improvement and, with it, an increasingly pervasive and persuasive base of research knowledge about the kinds of sophisticated teaching and levels of support for teaching that are required in order to create truly high-performing schools. Newmann and Wehlage (1995), for example, have demonstrated that successful school improvement likely to make a difference to student achievement depends on improvement efforts focusing clearly on teaching and learning, on teachers working within a strong professional community, on effective links being made with the community beyond the school in order to support its efforts, and on teachers willingly taking responsibility to analyse, act on and be accountable for student achievement data (Hargreaves & Fullan, 1998).

In the coming years, if the kind of public support called for in Andy Hargreaves' paper can be secured, there are real opportunities for the forces of deprofessionalization in teaching to be rolled back, and for teachers to be accorded—and develop for themselves—the kinds of new professionalism that are essential in an informational society. The papers in this collection explore the dilemmas and struggles of teachers and others to evolve such a new professionalism in a range of different settings.

Professional actions and cultures of teaching

All of these papers, with one exception, are drawn from many years of research and thinking among a network of leading researchers from nine countries and regions around the world. The network in which these researchers (including the writers represented here) have participated is called Professional Actions and Cultures of Teaching (PACT). This network was first initiated and directed by Andy Hargreaves and Ivor Goodson in 1992. It was established so that senior researchers, working in different countries, using different methodologies and drawing on different theoretical traditions, could bring together their varied research findings, ideas and expertise to develop a shared knowledge base of teacher professionalism. This knowledge base would be employed to try and move the educational community's understanding ahead, on a wider front. New projects on the emotions of teacher professionalism, the special traditions and qualities of collaborative professionalism in Japan, and the changing landscape of teachers' work in Scandinavia were all prompted by participation in the group and have deepened the knowledge base of teacher professionalism as a result.

PACT was established first and foremost as a professional and intellectual community for its participants. In the same way as teacher professionalism, researchers and the quality of their work benefit from being involved in and supported by strong professional communities, where collaboration, discussion, and working through different cultural and intellectual traditions strengthen the collective quality of the profession's work. That work is represented in this edition of *Prospects* and also in other group publications (e.g. Hargreaves & Goodson, 1996; Hargreaves & Evans, 1997).

As a professional and intellectual network, PACT has never sought to restrict itself to esoteric discussion among inward-looking intellectuals. Many of its meetings have been organized in tandem with national conferences. It has also instituted associated publications serving the wider educational profession. These meetings have taken place in regions and countries as varied as North America, the United Kingdom, Norway and Hong Kong. A key aim has been to engage and communicate with the wider educational profession, so that PACT could not only investigate and learn about the present state of teaching as a profession, but also work with policy-makers and practitioners to help re-invent its future. Various organizations have, at times, supported PACT in this work and we wish here to acknowledge the valuable support they have offered. They include: the Ontario Public School Teachers' Federation (now the Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario); the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada; the Association of Teachers and Lecturers; the National Association of Headteachers; the Roehampton Institute of Education and the *Times educational supplement* in the United Kingdom; the Nordic Educational Research Council and the University of Oslo in Scandinavia; and the Chinese University of Hong Kong in Asia.

Under its new directors, Leslie Lo and Brian Caldwell, PACT hopes that through UNESCO's influential journal *Prospects* and other means listed on its website, its work can reach out to engage with the international educational community as it struggles to redefine and, in some cases, to form for the first time a new professionalism in teaching that is truly suited to and equipped for the challenges and demands of a new century.

The papers

With the exception of the paper by Rosa María Torres, the articles in this issue of *Prospects* were presented at an international conference that PACT co-organized with the Hong Kong Institute of Educational Research and Faculty of Education of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. The conference was entitled 'New Professionalism in Teaching: Teacher Education and Teacher Development in a Changing World', and was held in January 1999 on the campus of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. The purpose of the conference was to provide a forum for international dialogue on the future direction for teacher development and teacher education. The six keynote speakers of the conference were joined by scholars and practitioners from Australia, Canada, the Chinese Mainland, Hong Kong, Israel, Norway, Philippines, Singapore, Sweden, Taiwan, Thailand, the United Kingdom and

the United States. The three-day event, which included a consultative session with top educational officials in Hong Kong, was organized along seven sub-themes: teacher development; teacher education; educational leadership; a culture of teaching; teachers' work; staff development; and educational policy. We have derived from the keynote and invited speeches an underlying paradox that is readily discernible in many aspects of the life and work of teachers. In recognizing that teaching is a paradoxical profession, we are also keenly aware of the fact that other equally appropriate themes might have emerged from the many discussions that took place at this very fruitful gathering.

The paradox in the professional life of teachers is illustrated by the co-existence of two seemingly contradictory trends in the development of the teaching profession: standardization of teaching and antipathy to teachers' professionalization, on the one hand, and higher professional standards and greater professionalism, on the other. As Ivor Goodson points out, the trend towards standardization and de-professionalization has provided space for higher standards and new professionalism to emerge. When professionalization is merely concerned with promoting the material and ideal interests of teachers as an occupational group, there is a clear need for teachers to define their own practice and develop character for their own profession. Teachers can no longer rely solely on the academics to develop and clarify for them a knowledge base for teaching, or on the practitioners to define the practice and character of the teaching profession with practical wisdom alone. The new professionalism in teaching should be developed from clearly agreed moral and ethical principles, with caring concerns at its core, and exemplification of the collaborative cultures for which teachers should strive. Goodson calls this a principled professionalism.

The paradox of the teaching profession is further illustrated by phenomena in which teachers worry that their professionalism has been undermined by the initiatives to create systems of 'world class' schools. That many nations have embarked on a reform agenda to establish 'world class' schools reflects a growing concern over student achievement standards, as well as their competence and capacity to engage in lifelong learning. Brian Caldwell points out that, despite obvious challenges, a new sense of professionalism in teaching is being crafted. An image of a new professionalism in teaching is constructed upon findings and accounts of good practice in literacy, mathematics, the adoption of information and communication technology, and the capacity for 'reflective intelligence'. It is clear that today's teachers can develop the character of their own profession without having to abandon the traditional tenets of professionalism. In a knowledge society that affords opportunities in global and lifelong learning, teachers can now tap the wisdom of the best minds and engage in collaborative endeavours with partners within and outside their schools. A new professionalism emerges with a significant change in the teachers' role and in their work. By examining the professional practice of medical practitioners, Caldwell counsels teamwork, networking, accountability, commitment, capacity to make use of information, and lifelong learning. In the rapidly changing landscape of education, a new professionalism for teachers should be one that takes into account the dynamics in a *gestalt* of schooling in the knowledge society.

A salient paradox in the work of teachers is reflected in their relationships and interactions with parents, who are supposedly their partners in the education of their students. As Andy Hargreaves points out, the pervasive reality in teacher/parent relations is marked by anxiety, tension and misunderstanding. Because of relativity in number and scale, teachers and parents have different expectations of teaching and learning in school and of the relationships with one another. The partnership between teachers and parents has changed through time. The silent partnerships of old were characterized by parents maintaining a polite distance from the teachers and provided necessary support at home. The partnerships of mutual learning and support are necessitated by the changing lives of the students as family and culture adopt different structures and forms. Both teachers and parents need to maintain relationships of reciprocal learning that are more open, interactive and inclusive in character. In their search for a new professionalism, the teachers should remember that it is in their own interest to see parents as important allies in a social movement that will transform the values and institutions of society in favour of public education. Developing a principled professionalism, Hargreaves asserts, requires schools and teachers to open themselves up to parents and the public. Only when learning runs authentically in both directions can communities 'build the capacity, trust, commitment and the support for teachers and teaching on which the future of their professionalism in the post-modern age will depend'.

Yet another paradox of the teaching profession is the inability of teacher education programmes to respond effectively to the sweeping changes that are taking place in schooling and teaching in many societies. As Miriam Ben-Peretz points out, changes in teaching that are intensively sought will not be viable or have far-reaching effects if they are not accompanied by changes in teacher education programmes. Indeed, changes being initiated in teaching will also change the understanding and practice of teachers. Changes in our understanding of the learning and teaching processes, in curriculum and subject integration, in the nature of teachers' work and in the role of technology in teaching are all important issues that should be addressed by teacher-education programmes. New models of teacher education have to be incorporated into the change process if current initiatives are to find their way into classrooms. According to Ben-Peretz, the transformation of teacher education should be based on the principles of feasibility, comprehensiveness, synergy and interaction. Teacher-education programmes should pay special attention to the attitudes and dispositions of students, the characteristics of teacher educators, our approaches to understanding and problem solving, and teamwork that involves the contribution of students, practising teachers, and teacher-educators who are experts in didactics and in the foundation disciplines. The ethos of teacher-education programmes should reflect an emphasis on teachers being members of learning communities that promote the pedagogy of inquiry.

The paradox of the teaching profession is also discernible in the reform experiences of societies that have launched large-scale projects to improve the quality of their schools and teachers. Evidence from past and on-going reform endeavours seems to indicate reluctance among teachers to embrace those efforts that aim to

improve their quality. Indeed, a continual stream of reform efforts with policies that aimed to influence teachers' professional capacity has affected teacher professionalism. To Ann Lieberman and Milbrey McLaughlin, the picture of teachers' professional development in the United States looks chaotic and incomprehensible, as it is difficult to see the strategic or practical connections among the reform efforts. By examining the orientations of three policy tools—standard-based, school-based and development-based reforms—they underscore the limitations of each as motivation and support for teachers' professional development. Reform experiences at the state and local levels suggest that an appropriate synergy of the three policy approaches should yield positive results. A goal for reform policy, then, is to 'grind trifocal lenses' that focus the strengths of the three approaches in mutually reinforcing ways so that reform policies can support rather than frustrate sustained teacher learning and growth. With this, the persistent problems affecting teacher development can be tackled more effectively.

The kind of ambivalence that surrounds reform policies has confused teachers in some Asian societies as well. As teachers struggle to cope with the many demands of reform and to fulfil the numerous tasks that have been heaped upon them, there is little time for reflection and even less space for a new professionalism in teaching to emerge. On the basis of the findings of a study on the impact of contextual factors on the direction of teacher development in Hong Kong and the Chinese Mainland, Leslie Lo points out that when the professional authority of teachers is weak, reform measures are imposed on them in a top-down manner. As the educational context experiences rapid changes, and the teachers' attention is constantly drawn to such matters as status, salaries and benefits (as in the case of the Chinese Mainland), the direction of teacher development is dominated by policy mandates and bureaucratic control. Teachers in the two Chinese school systems have to work in educational settings that are highly segregated by academic achievement. They also have to dig deep into their personal and professional resources to wrestle with the problems of compulsory schooling, such as increased diversification in students' ability and background, lack of motivation, challenges to conventional teaching strategies, and the growing intensification of work. When reform initiatives place increasing demands on teachers to strengthen their professional capacity, teacher-education programmes in both societies have failed to respond with necessary insights and support. Teacher development has remained at the level of developing their knowledge and skills. For a new professionalism in teaching to emerge in Hong Kong and on the Chinese Mainland, Lo suggests a sense of purpose, collegiality and room for growth as its three basic ingredients.

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THE PRINCIPLED PROFESSIONAL

Ivor F. Goodson

In his new book on the changing structure of television, the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1998) explores the vast forces of the 'market' in restructuring the content and delivery of television programmes. Television, he shows, is being 'dumbed down', its content restructured, and its social and educational mission degraded. Occupying a position of some ambivalence in relation to this restructuring project are the professionals—the journalists, interviewers and programme makers. These 'peer groups', as Bourdieu terms them, have the capacity either to blindly administer market commands or to respond in a more micro-political peer group manner. By its very nature, the latter pattern is semi-autonomous.

Professional groups, through their practices, cannot be completely integrated. This perhaps explains the absence of support, notably financial, for professional groups initiated by the agencies of global capital over the past decade. Professional peer groups still retain considerable power to 'interfere' in the relationship between corporate businesses and consumers, and the State and its citizens.

Looking at education, we can investigate the power to restructure teaching practices and peer group professional activities at a number of levels. Firstly, there is the traditional route of the 'status and resources game' played out in the univer-

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sities and colleges, which defines education as a field. This is what we might call the academicization project. Secondly, there is activity at the level of teaching. Here, there is the traditional route of the professionalization project: the pursuit of status and resources for an occupational group. Professionalization has to be set against professionalism, which is the other side of the coin—teachers' definition of their peer group practices, their best ways of pursuing the art and craft of teaching. Sometimes, professionalization and professionalism are in harmony, sometimes not. At times like this, when global forces are pursuing stratification projects, harmony between the two is unlikely. But, like Bourdieu's peer group, teachers' professionalism can stand against restructuring forces if those forces run counter to their own professional and moral purposes. This can be achieved by working for and defining a new moral professionalism.

For that reason, I want to focus in this paper on the possibilities that exist in the contemporary situation for developing and defending a new moral professionalism, what I call a principled professionalism.

Let me continue, then, by extending our analyses of two distinctions: the distinction between professionalization and professionalism, and the distinction between professional standardization and professional standards.

Beginning with the distinction between professionalization and professionalism, or professionality, I see the project of professionalization as concerned with promoting the material and ideal interests of an occupational group—in this case, teachers. Alongside this, professionalism is more concerned with the intricate definition and character of occupational action—in this case, the practice and profession of teaching. At the moment, we see considerable antipathy to teacher professionalization. This comes from cost-cutting central government; from well-entrenched education bureaucracies; and, perhaps most potently of all, from a range of business and corporate interests. Some of the reasons for the opposition to teacher professionalization are undoubtedly ideological, but behind this ideological antipathy are a range of financial changes which sponsor the notion of retrenchment and cutback. Now, as a number of commentators have pointed out, the relationship between ideology and financial manipulation is a historically intimate one. But in this case it is possible to distinguish between real financial constraints and their linkage to ideological opposition to professionalization as a social and political project.

In the opposition to professionalization there is currently considerable activity, both administratively and politically, in the definition and application of professional standards of practice. Whilst these initiatives and edicts are often aimed at curbing the professionalization project, they do, at one and the same time, sometimes sponsor new opportunities for developing teacher professionalism.

Let me explain this double-sided face of educational change by looking at the distinction between standards and standardization. The contradiction at work in school changes at the moment is that standardization is dominant. Teacher professionalism is being driven by more and more government guidelines and central edicts on issues ranging from assessment to accountability, to curriculum definition. In the process, it would seem that teaching is being technicized but not professionalized.

In fact, such standardization is unpicking existing patterns of professionalization and replacing them with notions of the teacher as the technical deliverer of guidelines and schemes devised elsewhere.

At the same time, there is a desire to promote and improve professional standards. Since a major plank of governmental and business rhetoric about education is that schooling will improve, a focus on professional standards becomes a logical extension of this project. Thus there can be, at one and the same time, opposition to professionalization and sponsorship of new patterns of professionalism. In a sense, this dichotomy is the one between control and delivery. The new accommodation being pushed for by central governments and corporate interests is that the objectives and patterns of control are defined, but the management and delivery, and indeed the professional standards, are left to regulation by the occupational group.

What these two different spectra point to—professionalization alongside professionalism, and standardization alongside standards—is that the current condition of teachers' professional lives is paradoxical. There is both a desire for standardization of teaching and antipathy to the professionalization project, but at the same time there is a desire for greater professional standards and professionalism. Our task, it seems to me, is to build on the new spaces and possibilities offered by the latter desire. Just at the commonsensical level, it is possible to argue against the material aggrandizement of professional groups, and this can be done both ideologically and financially, and indeed is being done at the moment. But at the same level, it is enormously hard for groups in government bureaucracy or corporations to argue against professional standards and greater professionalism. Hence, our leverage in promoting new professionalism is potentially substantial.

Writing recently about primary school teachers, Troman (1996) differentiated between two kinds of professional groups of teachers. The first of these he calls the old professionals, who believed in teachers' collective control of their work and in resisting hierarchical control, whether in the school by principals or outside by administrators, bureaucrats and politicians. Against this group he sets the new professionals, who accept the new political dispensation and hierarchies, new governmental guidelines and new national objectives and curriculum but who, nonetheless, in defining their professional practices do so in a semi-autonomous and often progressive way. (In some ways, I am reminded of the British distinction between Old Labour and Tony Blair's New Labour—the latter clearly accepts new global hierarchies and patterns of control, but aims to define autonomous spaces in the 'new world order'.)

My own sense is that if the attack on old professionals can be seen as, in one sense, de-professionalization, the definitions of the new professionals can be seen as shifting the ground to defining new professionalisms (possibly laying the ground, therefore, for a new re-professionalization project.). At the moment, however, both the old and the new professionals must attempt to re-appropriate professionalization projects at the level of professional practices. The ground for hopeful action is in defining new professional practices.

In this paper, I discuss three ages and stages of professionalism: classical, practical and principled. This has some parallels with Hargreaves' (2000) 'Four ages of

professionalism'. Traditionally, academicization projects, professionalization projects and associated professionalisms have been linked in what Andy Hargreaves and I have previously called classical professionalism (Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996).

'This academic quest to develop and clarify a knowledge base for teaching tries to build an edifice of teacher professionalism and professionalization on a foundation of scientific certainty' (Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996) by categorizing and codifying the practical knowledge of teachers in technical, scientific or theoretical terms.

In classical professionalism, then, the pursuit of status and resources opens up an inevitable rift between educational study and research and practice. This is the price of pursuing professionalization through academicization.

In the period of recent free market dominance, marketization has tended to replace academic mystification as the route to professionalization. Here, the professional is the trained expert who will deliver with technical and scientific facility the guidelines and reforms as defined by policy-makers, administrators and politicians. The free market professional gives up some powers of definition and autonomy, but is handsomely rewarded in the new financial arrangement required of the market, which provides for incentives and discretionary payments for those defined as leaders, managers and, in England, 'super-teachers'.

As I argued in the previous section, the terrain over which the new struggles are being waged is moving from the higher levels of the academic marketplace and the free marketplace to the long-contested area of professional practices. A number of phases can be seen emerging in the new struggles over professional practices.

An interim phase is likely to be an attempt to define practical professionals. This phase can be discerned in a range of countries at the moment. It is one with a number of hopeful characteristics but, as we shall see, with a substantial downside. Practical professionalism tries to accord dignity and status to the practical knowledge and judgement that people have of their own work. This approach is 'designed to capture the idea of experience in a way that allows us to talk about teachers as knowledgeable and knowing persons' (Connelly & Clandinin, 1988, p. 25). The reliance on experience that was once seen as a failing of teachers is here regarded as central to their expertise and, in its own way, as a source of valid theory rather than theory's opposite or enemy. The routine and situated knowledge that teachers have of curriculum materials and development, subject–matter, teaching strategies, the classroom milieu, parents and so forth—these are the sorts of phenomena that make up the substance of teachers' personal practical knowledge or craft knowledge (Brown & McIntyre, 1993). Such knowledge can also be captured and communicated in particular forms, especially through images, metaphors, narratives and stories which teachers routinely use to represent their work to themselves and others.

One very helpful addition to the discourse of practical professionalism is the notion of reflective practice. The concept of the 'reflective practitioner' was pioneered and developed by the late Donald Schön (1983) as a way of describing and developing skilled and thoughtful judgement in professions such as teaching. Reflection here means thinking, which is not just ivory-tower contemplation but is linked

directly to practice (Grimmett & Erickson, 1988; Grimmett & Mackinnon, 1988). The heart of professionalism in this perspective is the capacity to exercise discretionary judgement in situations of unavoidable uncertainty (Schön, 1983).

Schön's work provides a useful basis for future work on moral professional practices. Teacher educators have not been slow to pick up the implications of his work. They have shown how all teaching embodies reflection or thoughtful judgement within the actual practice of teaching itself (Pollard & Tann, 1987). They have tried to investigate how teachers might best represent and explain their practice reflectively to one another, especially between more and less experienced peers. Some have moved beyond the more technical aspects of reflection regarding the details of classroom judgement—beyond *reflection-in-action* and *reflection-on-action*, that is—to argue for more critical *reflection about action*, and about the social conditions and consequences of one's actions as a teacher (e.g. Elliot, 1991; Fullan & Hargreaves, 1991, p. 67–9; Carr & Kemmis, 1983; Liston & Zeichner, 1991). Clearly, there are many purposes in and ways of reflecting, not just one (Louden, 1991). But what matter throughout this literature are the emphases that all teachers reflect in some way; that they can articulate and share their reflections more explicitly; that reflection is at the heart of what it means to be professional; and that teacher education, supervision and development should be constructed in ways that make such explicit reflection more feasible and more thorough.

At its best, the discourse of practical and reflective professionalism superbly deconstructs the intellectual pretensions of university-based, scientific knowledge as a basis for teacher professionalization. At its most critical, it also connects the practical reflection of teachers to broader social agendas of equity and emancipation, making practical reflection social and critical, as well as personal and local. But when it assumes extremely personalized and romantic forms, the discourse of practical professionalism is open to a damaging dual criticism.

The first critique is obvious and commonsensical, for not all teachers' practical knowledge is educational, beneficial or socially worth while. For instance, some teachers' practical knowledge 'tells' them that mixed ability teaching is not workable or appropriate (Hargreaves, 1996); that children cannot be trusted to evaluate their own work; or that sciences are more suitable for boys than girls. If teacher professionalism is to be understood as exercising reflective judgement, and developing and drawing on a wide repertoire of knowledge and skills to meet goals of excellence and equity within relationships of caring, then whether practical knowledge can provide a proper foundation for it depends on what that knowledge is, in what kinds of contexts it has been acquired, the purposes to which it is put, and the extent to which teachers review it, renew it and reflect on it.

A second line of criticism is that overzealous promotion of teachers' everyday, practical craft knowledge (albeit for the best-intended reasons) may actually redirect their work away from broader moral and social projects and commitments. In this sort of scenario, right-of-centre governments can restructure teachers' work and teacher education in ways that narrow such work to pedagogical skills and technical competencies, remove from teachers any moral responsibility or professional

judgement concerning curricular matters, and cut teachers off from university knowledge with the access it can give to independent inquiry, intellectual critique and understanding of other teachers in other contexts. This can transform practical knowledge into parochial knowledge. Some of the more excessive swings towards school-based training and professional development schools may bring about this transformation.

Furthermore, practical knowledge limits the development of teachers' cognitive maps of power. Martin Lawn (1990) has written powerfully about how teachers' work in England and Wales has been restructured along just those lines:

> In the biographies of many teachers is an experience of, and exception of, curriculum responsibility not as part of a job description, a task, but as part of the moral craft of teaching, the real duty. The post-war tradition of gradual involvement in curriculum responsibility at primary and second level (in England and Wales) was the result of the wartime breakdown of education, the welfare aspects of schooling and the post-war reconstruction in which teachers played a pivotal, democratic role. The role of teaching expanded as the teachers expanded the role. In its ideological form within this period, professional autonomy was created as an idea. As the post-war consensus finally collapsed and corporatism was demolished by Thatcherism, teaching was again to be reduced, shorn of its involvement in policy and managed more tightly. Teaching is to be reduced to 'skills', attending planning meetings, supervising others, preparing courses and reviewing the curriculum. It is to be 'managed' to be more 'effective'. In effect, the intention is to depoliticize teaching and to turn the teacher into an educational worker. Curriculum responsibility now means supervising competencies.

Lawn's analysis points to the need for macro-level understanding of the implications of initiatives which, advertently or inadvertently, may redirect teacher professionalization into dark corners or cul-de-sacs. In many places, teacher professionalism is being redefined in terms of workplace competencies and standards of pedagogical practice; while teachers are having moral responsibility for curriculum goals and purposes taken away from them; while financial resources are being withdrawn from them; and while market ideologies of choice, competition and self-management are restructuring school systems and students' lives inequitably all around them.

The promise of practical professionalism, then, is that it can usefully invert and subvert the elitism and esotericism of university-based knowledge as a basis for teacher professionalization. Practical wisdom, developed in suitable contexts for worthwhile purposes in appropriately reflective ways, can and should form an important part of what it means to be professional as a teacher. But embraced exclusively and to excess, practical professionalism is easily hijacked in the service of dubious policy projects which restructure education inequitably, and narrow the teacher's task and the teacher's professionalism to delivering the goals of the restructured system technically, competently, but unquestioningly. In this sense, the rise of practical professionalism may move us into a period of de-professionalizing professionalism, where more narrow, technical definitions of professionalism, emptied of critical voice or moral purpose, seriously damage teachers' long-term aspirations to greater professional status and recognition.

To move beyond a de-professionalizing practicalism, we need to investigate new attempts to unite professional practices with more practically sensitive theoretical studies and research modes. This would provide both new and up-to-date professional practices, backed up and informed by theory and research. What is required is a new professionalism and body of knowledge driven by a belief in social practice and moral purpose. Principled professionalism might cover the issues listed below and would grow from the best insights of the old collective professionals and the new professionals. What teacher professionalism should also mean in a complex, post-modern age has been defined by Hargreaves and myself in the opening chapter of our book entitled *Teachers' professional lives* (Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996). We outlined seven components, set out below, of what we call post-modern professionalism, as exemplifying the principled professionalism I have advocated in this paper.

- firstly, and most importantly, opportunities and expectations with regard to engaging with the moral and social purposes and value of what teachers teach, along with major curriculum and assessment matters in which these purposes are embedded;
- increased opportunity and responsibility for exercising discretionary judgement concerning the issues of teaching, curriculum and care that affect one's students;
- commitment to working with colleagues in collaborative cultures of help and support, as a way of using shared expertise to solve the on–going problems of professional practice, rather than engaging in joint work as a motivational device to implement the external mandates of others;
- occupational *heteronym*, rather than self-protective *autonomy*, whereby teachers work authoritatively, yet openly and collaboratively, with other partners in the wider community (especially parents and students themselves), who have a significant stake in students' learning;
- a commitment to active *care*, and not just anodyne *service* for students. Professionalism must in this sense acknowledge and embrace the emotional as well as the cognitive dimensions of teaching, and recognize the skills and dispositions that are essential to committed and effective caring;
- a self-directed search and struggle for *continuous learning* related to one's own expertise and standards of practice, rather than compliance with the enervating obligations of *endless change* demanded by others (often under the guise of continuous learning or improvement);
- the creation and recognition of high task *complexity*, with levels of status and reward appropriate to such complexity.

In a new moral order of teaching, professionalization and professionalism will unite around moral definitions of teaching and schooling. Principled professionalism will develop from clearly agreed moral and ethical principles. This kind of professionalism will focus on the caring concerns which should lie at the heart of professionalism, rather than on the contradictory and narrow concerns of professionalization. The latter have tended to focus on the material conditions and status concerns of teachers as a professional group. Principled professionalism will return to the initial con-

cerns which underpin the profession of teaching. Teaching is, above all, a moral and ethical vocation, and a new professionalism needs to reinstate this as the guiding principle.

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PROFESSIONALISM IN TEACHING

STRATEGIC INTENTIONS FOR PROFESSIONALS IN WORLD-CLASS SCHOOLS

Brian J. Caldwell

Many nations have embarked on a reform agenda to create systems of world-class schools, with the dawn of the third millennium invariably selected as a time for celebration of their achievement. A major constraint, however, has been the high level of concern among teachers that their professionalism has been undermined in the process. Fortunately, there is evidence to the contrary, to the extent that a new sense of professionalism is being developed and that the status of teachers can be raised to match the best in medical practice. It is a central contention in this paper that 'new professionalism' will be the cornerstone in efforts to create world-class schools.

This paper is divided into four parts. The first explains what 'world-class' means. The second explores new concepts in professional practice that are emerging in school reform or that have been highlighted in research findings in schools that can be fairly described as world-class. The third acknowledges the challenges and the pitfalls along the way. The final part draws implications for practice in schools by identifying two sets of strategic intentions that might serve as a guide to professional development or to the preparation of a medium- to long-range plan to help a school become world-class.

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World-class

A world-class school is one that meets the high expectations which are set for all its students, as determined by the community of the school, and, more broadly, for all schools in a system, state or nation; and that enables its students to engage successfully in a global and lifelong network of learning opportunities in a knowledge society (based on Caldwell & Spinks, 1998).

According to Michael Barber, Head of the Standards and Effectiveness Unit, Department for Education and Employment in the United Kingdom, world-class standards in the twenty-first century will demand that everyone is highly literate, highly numerate, well informed, capable of learning constantly, and confident and able to play his or her part as a citizen in a democratic society. This implies a curriculum that provides a firm grounding for everyone in literacy and numeracy but also goes far beyond that (based on Barber, 1998).

The notion that all must learn well in the years of schooling, providing the foundation for success in lifelong learning, is reinforced in an emerging consensus of government. Chapman's account of recent reviews of policy by education ministers in countries belonging to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and by UNESCO's International Commission on Learning for the Twenty-First Century, the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union and the Nordic Council of Ministers, revealed a number of themes that provide a policy framework for world-class education. She highlighted:

> the importance of the notions of the knowledge economy and the learning society; an acceptance of the need for a new philosophy of education and training, with institutions of all kinds—formal and informal, traditional and alternative, public and private—having new roles and responsibilities for learning; the necessity of ensuring that the foundations for lifelong learning are set in place for all citizens during the compulsory years of schooling; the need to promote a multiple and coherent set of links, pathways and articulations between schooling, work, further education and other agencies offering opportunities for learning across the lifespan; the importance of governments providing incentives for individuals, employers and the range of social partners with a commitment to learning to invest in lifelong learning; and the need to ensure the emphasis upon lifelong learning does not reinforce existing patterns of privilege and widen the existing gap between the advantaged and the disadvantaged, simply on the basis of access to education (Chapman, 1997, p. 155–6).

Constructing an image of the 'new professional'

The starting point in constructing an image of a 'new professionalism' is to examine the findings of research and accounts of good practice as schools take on the characteristics described above as 'world-class'. Brief consideration is given to such findings for: (i) literacy, especially in the early years; (ii) mathematics, with particular attention given to selected findings in the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS); (iii) the adoption of information and communication tech-

nology (ICT); and (iv) capacity for 'reflective intelligence'. This selection is not complete, but it is sufficient for constructing an image of the 'new professional'.

LITERACY

There is a growing body of evidence that all students can succeed in acquiring basic skills in literacy, thus achieving one element in the specification of world-class schools (Crevola & Hill, 1998).

What are the important dimensions of professional practice that emerge from this evidence? Teachers acquire new knowledge and skill in a learning area for which they were already qualified to teach. They become skilful in using an array of diagnostic and assessment instruments to identify precisely what entry levels and needs exist among students, these being different in each classroom. Each child is treated as an individual, in reality as well as in rhetoric. Teachers have the capacity to work in a team and devote much time out of class to preparation and briefing and debriefing meetings, in order to assess the effectiveness of approaches and to plan new ones. Cross-cultural communication and the effective involvement of parents as partners in the enterprise are evident. There is commitment to the programme; it is recognized that existing approaches are not good enough, although they were good enough to get by on in the past; and there are high shared expectations that all children could succeed.

None of these capacities calls for the abandonment of the traditional tenets of professionalism, which are reinforced, extended and enriched. It is likely that the professional who was effective in the past will be well suited to the new circumstances, albeit with an updating of knowledge and skill. But there should be no doubting that the new professional in this field has a more sophisticated body of knowledge and skill than in the past, and a new and very demanding set of expectations to live up to.

MATHEMATICS

Achievement in mathematics is also part of the prescription for world-class schools, including but not limited to numeracy. International interest is reflected in the high level of participation in TIMSS, and the wide public dissemination and discussion of the findings and their implications. This was the largest international comparative study in education ever undertaken, with forty-one participating nations.

The implications for teachers as professionals can be gleaned from the findings of an important international investigation that was part of TIMMS. James W. Stigler, Professor of Psychology at the University of California Los Angeles (UCLA), was commissioned by the United States Department of Education's National Center for Educational Statistics and the National Science Foundation to conduct a US$2 million international comparative study of mathematics teaching in Grade 8 in Germany, Japan and the United States (the account that follows is based on Lawton, 1997, p. 20–3).

The results were surprising. Japanese lessons tended to focus on single concepts, whereas those in the United States and Germany tended to focus on multiple concepts. In the United States, there were far more interruptions to lessons on extraneous matters on the public address system than in the other nations. Noteworthy was the fact that, contrary to international stereotyping, there was much discovery learning in Japanese classrooms, with less teacher direction than is widely held to be the case. For example, in introducing a concept, a Japanese teacher would set a problem and invite students to work individually and in groups to come up with a solution that was then shared with the class as a whole. The concept and the manner in which it should be applied were then developed by the teacher. In classrooms in the other nations, teachers would typically explain the concept, demonstrate its use and then have students drill its application. The Japanese approach is known as *jiriki kaiketsu*—to solve under one's own power. In this respect, Japanese teachers were addressing goals in the standards of the National Council of Mathematics Teaching (NCMT) in the United States to a greater extent than were teachers in that country!

In Japan, while there is a national curriculum in mathematics, and standards and expected outcomes are clear and consistent, teachers spend a considerable amount of time sharing and planning how they will go about their task, and establishing what they expect to learn from the experience. This is part of the expectation that teaching and learning will be honed and shaped so that all students will reach the standards. Regular meetings are organized within and among schools for this purpose.

The implications for teachers as professionals are noteworthy. One is the value of keeping in touch with the international comparative literature in one's field of interest, for the findings may challenge assumptions about practice in one's own country. This was the case for teachers in the United States, who were surprised to find that Japanese teachers were teaching to some NCMT standards more consistently and effectively than many teachers in the United States. Another is the high level of school-based discretion and professional activity that is possible, indeed necessary, when working within a curriculum and standards framework. The need for schools to make time for such professional activity is evident. Other implications are particular to the subject, such as the need to reduce the number of concepts that are attempted in some lessons.

INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY

The professional capacities of teachers for world-class schools can also be illustrated by examining developments in information and communication technology (ICT). While the impact of such technology is problematic in some aspects of its application to learning and teaching, there are other aspects where benefits are beyond doubt. These lie in the manner in which large amounts of important information can be accessed quickly, enabling students to focus their time and attention on higher levels of learning. For example, a study project on life in another country or on relationships between climate and economy can draw information from a CD-ROM in

just a fraction of the time that it would take to access the same information from print sources in a library.

The benefits in terms of higher-order learning were confirmed in a ten-year study of the placement in schools in 1985 of computers, video disc players, video cameras, scanners and CD-ROM drives. Researchers concluded that:

> students in the technology-rich classrooms performed no better than students in traditional classrooms on standardised achievement tests, but that the classes were reaping other kinds of benefits. Students were writing more and finishing units of study more quickly. They were becoming independent learners and self-starters, working cooperatively, expressing positive attitudes toward the future, sharing their expertise more spontaneously, and representing information in a variety of forms (Viadero, 1997*a*, p. 17).

There seems to be no debate about the merits of educational technology for disabled or disadvantaged students. Viadero (1997*b*, p. 14) reported that 'Technology has literally helped open schoolhouse doors for disabled students and given impetus to the "full inclusion" movement, which calls for teaching disabled students in regular classrooms whenever possible'. Pyke (1997, p. 1) described a project 'equipping seven-year olds with executive style "pocket book" computers [that] is reversing the inner-city reading blight in two of the London boroughs officially savaged for low standards of literacy' and noted that Professor David Reynolds, then a member of Labour's task force on reading, had described the results as 'phenomenal'. Hayward provided a detailed account of how information and communication technology had transformed learning in a Koori Open Door Education (KODE) school in Gippsland, Victoria (Caldwell & Hayward, 1998, p. 64–5). These Aboriginal children had used the Internet to learn with their counterparts in a Zuni Reservation school in New Mexico.

What can be discerned from these brief accounts about the role of the teacher? The most obvious implication is the need for new knowledge and skills in the use of the technology that can have benefits for learning. Another is acquiring the capacity to discriminate between what is beneficial and what is not beneficial, and under what conditions those benefits can be secured. More fundamental, however, is the change in role. While teaching in its traditional sense, even lecturing, will remain in the repertoire, the teacher is adopting a wider range of behaviours, including those of coach, mentor and conductor.

REFLECTIVE INTELLIGENCE

The image of the 'new professionalism' in school education is strengthened when one realizes the manner in which teachers now make use of data. This calls for what MacGilchrist, Myers and Reed (1997) call 'reflective intelligence' in their view of 'the intelligent school'. Reflective intelligence calls for 'a capacity for collecting, analysing, interpreting and acting on a wide range of data from many sources: the "intelligent school" is comfortable in its ability to interpret and use information

and put it to the service of its pupils and the organisation as a whole' (MacGilchrist, Myers & Reed, 1997, p. 107).

Whether it be in Britain, utilizing information in inspection reports or making sense of the league tables; or in Japan, where teachers of mathematics spend much time sharing information on processes and outcomes; or in Schools of the Future in Victoria, Australia, where data are drawn from an increasingly complex array of indicators in compiling a school's annual report or completing a triennial review, the requirements for 'reflective intelligence' are unprecedented. Compare expectations with what applied to most teachers until recently: a more or less straightforward capacity to devise and administer classroom-based tests and report the results to parents each term.

The role is even more demanding if value-added measures are used, whereby data may be provided on a classroom-by-classroom or subject-by-subject basis, with account taken of learning outcomes controlled for prior attainment, socio-economic status, gender and ethnicity.

One contrast with past practice in the profession is in order, as is a comparison with professional practice in other fields. With regard to the former, it is clear that the isolation of the past has gone. This is not a teacher working alone, who is expected or expects to teach her or his class behind closed doors. This is a professional who is at ease working in a team and at ease in sharing complex sets of data about student entry points, progress and outcomes with others. This calls for a willingness to share and also a willingness to be vulnerable.

The comparisons with other professions, particular the caring professions, are immediately apparent. One expects doctors, including general practitioners as well as specialists, to make use of an increasingly sophisticated battery of tests and select a treatment. There is distress at the prospect that doctors might not keep up to date with the latest developments in their fields through their private reading and successful participation in regularly organized programmes of professional development provided as a matter of course by their professional associations. At a place where there is a concentration of doctors, such as a clinic or a hospital, there is an expectation of regular conferences at which information is shared about what does or does not work. We expect full accountability.

This comparison with the health care field is not new. Papert (1993) and Hargreaves (1994, 1997) both used it to good effect. It is not an entirely appropriate comparison, for in education there is concern about students who are learning, whereas, in medicine, doctors deal with patients who have an ailment. It is, however, entirely appropriate to show that teachers can be as fully professional as medical specialists, whose status in this regard is held in society to be unquestionable.

Challenges and pitfalls

There are many issues to be addressed if teachers are to take their place in the creation of world-class schools, and several are canvassed here. One is to set standards for achievement in different areas of learning for all levels of schooling. However,

reaching agreement on standards and the related pedagogy is proving difficult. Much has been written about 'literacy wars' and there is now frequent reference to 'numeracy wars'. Referring to developments in the United States, Morony asserts that 'Mathematicians are pitted against mathematics educators in a vitriolic debate about what is important in mathematics in schools' (Morony, 1998, p. 14). It is important, however, to note the leadership shown by the NCMT in this regard. The NCMT was the first of the discipline-based professional associations in the United States to develop standards (in 1989), and at its own cost, with other bodies following suit, the costs being borne largely from the public purse. A draft of new standards is under consideration by NCMT members, with formal adoption in April 2000 (Hoff, 1998).

The stakes are high in this work and no effort should be spared if world-class schools are to be created. The importance of 'getting it right' is highlighted in a recent devastating (though partly tongue-in-cheek) critique of educational research by Diane Ravitch, former United States Assistant Secretary for Educational Research. She recalls her recent serious, potentially life-threatening illness and the expert care provided by medical specialists, with their certainty about diagnosis and treatment based on high-quality research. She imagined the scene if they were replaced by education experts:

> The first thing that I noticed was the disappearance of the certainty that the physicians had shared.
>
> Instead, my new specialists began to argue over whether anything was actually wrong with me. A few thought that I had a problem, but others scoffed and said that such an analysis was tantamount to 'blaming the victim'. Some challenged the concept of 'illness', claiming it was a social construction, utterly lacking in objective reality. Others rejected the evidence of the tests used to diagnose my ailment; a few said the tests were meaningless for females, and others insisted that the tests were meaningless for anyone under any circumstances. One of the noisier researchers maintained that any effort to focus attention on my individual situation merely diverted attention from gross social injustices; a just social order could not come into existence, he claimed, until anecdotal cases like mine were not eligible for attention and resources.
>
> Among the raucous crowd of education experts, there was no agreement, no common set of standards for diagnosing my problem. They could not agree on what was wrong with me, perhaps because they did not agree on standards for good health [...] A few researchers continued to insist that something was wrong with me; one even pulled out the results of my CAT-scan and sonogram. But the rest ridiculed the tests, pointing out that they represented only a snap-shot of my actual condition and were therefore completely unreliable, as compared to longitudinal data (Ravitch, 1998, p. 33).

Ravitch (1998, p. 34) concluded that 'In our society, we rightly insist upon valid medical research; after all, lives are at risk. Now that I am on the mend, I wonder: Why don't we insist with equal vehemence on well-tested, validated education research? Lives are at risk here, too'.

Educational researchers would rightly point to the current gross disparity in funding between medical research and educational research, but the general thrust

of the Ravitch critique is a valid one as far as expectations are concerned.

Pressing the medical analogy for levels of remuneration and other aspects of incentives and rewards schemes also provokes a response about disparity rather than similarity. Why not provide pay that matches performance in a new professional culture that moves closer to that of the medical specialist? The British Government has proposed such a scheme in a Green Paper (Department for Education and Employment, 1998). The Secretary of State for Education, David Blunkett, placed proposals in the context of efforts to create world-class schools:

> The Government is committed to a substantial programme of investment in education—£19 billion over the next three years because, like you [teachers], we want world-class schools for our children in the new century. In a world of rapid change, every pupil will need to be literate, numerate, well-informed and prepared for the citizenship of tomorrow. They will need the self-esteem and confidence to be able to learn throughout life, as well as to play an active part at work and in their local community.
>
> Part of this investment is for a new pay and rewards scheme for the teaching profession...
>
> Major reforms are already underway to raise standards, but we can only realise the full potential of our schools if we recruit and motivate teachers and other school staff with the ambition, incentives, training and support to exploit this opportunity (Foreword in Department for Education and Employment, 1998, p. 3–4).

How then can teachers take their place at the forefront of efforts to create world-class schools? It seems that no single strategy will successfully address the challenges and pitfalls considered in this section. It is likely that a synergy of different strategies, working together over time, are necessary. A starting point may be acceptance of a vision for world-class schools, such as that proposed at the outset, and a belief and a commitment that teachers can indeed be at the forefront. Well-funded and appropriately focused research programmes, with salary and other incentives and reward schemes to match, are part of the package.

Strategic intentions for schools

What strategies at the school level should underpin a systematic effort to nurture a 'new professionalism'? The most important should be 'capacity building'. Such a strategy is in contrast with top-down efforts to effect change. Sergiovanni (1998) made this point in addressing the question 'How can we bring about change that will result in higher levels of student performance, enhanced social development and improved levels of civility in schools?' He described the shortcomings of current leadership strategies: *bureaucratic leadership* ('that mandates certain things for schools to do and mandates certain outcomes for schools to achieve'); corporate-style *visionary leadership* ('that provides a powerfully spoken sense of what must be done'); and *entrepreneurial leadership* ('that applies market principles to schools...by encouraging competition, providing incentives for winning and disincentives for losing'). As a complement, not necessarily as a replacement, Sergiovanni proposes *pedagogical leadership*:

that invests in capacity building by developing social and academic capital for students and intellectual and professional capital for teachers. Support this leadership by making capital available to enhance student learning and development, teacher learning and classroom effectiveness (Sergiovanni, 1998, p. 38).

STRATEGIC INTENTIONS IN FOSTERING THE NEW PROFESSIONALISM

Caldwell and Spinks (1998) employ the concept of 'strategic intention' to describe how schools can foster a 'new professionalism' in a manner consistent with Sergiovanni's call for 'pedagogical leadership'.

A strategic intention describes a pattern for taking action, but it does not specify what will be done, how, when and by whom. These are matters for determination by each school, should it decide to proceed. In the list that follows, derived from research and practice along the lines summarized in this paper, the name of a particular school might be inserted to turn each statement into a more specific, action-oriented intention that can then provide the starting point for professional development and other forms of 'capacity building'.

1. There will be planned and purposeful efforts to reach higher levels of professionalism in data-driven, outcomes-oriented, team-based approaches to raising levels of achievement for all students.
2. Substantial blocks of time will be scheduled for teams of teachers and other professionals to reflect on data, devise and adapt approaches to learning and teaching, and set standards and targets that are relevant to their students.
3. Teachers and other professionals will read widely and continuously in local, national and international literature in their fields, consistently with expectations and norms for medical practitioners.
4. Teachers and other professionals will become skilful in the use of a range of information and communication technology, employing it to support learning and teaching, and to gain access to current information that will inform their professional practice.
5. Schools will join networks of schools and other providers of professional services in the public and private sectors to ensure that the needs of all students will be diagnosed and met, especially among the disabled and disadvantaged, with the techniques of case management being employed to ensure success for every individual in need.
6. Professionals will work within curriculum and standards frameworks, as well as other protocols and standards of professional practice, with the same level of commitment and rigour as expected in medicine.
7. Schools will advocate, support and participate in programmes of unions and professional associations that are consistent with the new professionalism in education.
8. Working within frameworks established for the profession, incentives, recognition and reward schemes will be developed at the school level that are consistent with the strategic needs of the workplace, with components that are

skill-based and contain provision for collective rewards, gain sharing and team-based performance awards where these are possible and appropriate.

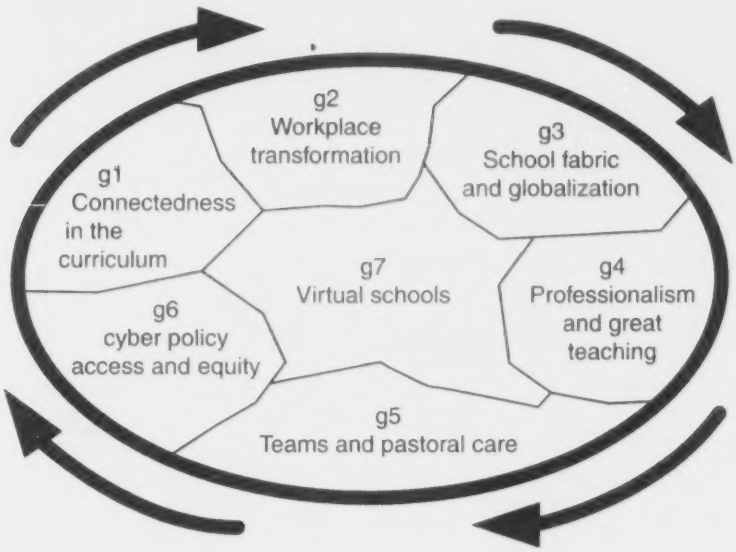
9. Staff will seek recognition of their work which meets or exceeds standards of professional practice, and will support and participate in the programmes of professional bodies established for this purpose.
10. Schools will work with universities and other providers in a range of programmes in teaching, research and development that support and reflect the new professionalism in education.

STRATEGIC INTENTIONS FOR AN ENRICHED PROFESSION IN THE KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY

Schooling in the early years of the third millennium is schooling for the knowledge society, where those who manage information to solve problems, provide service or create new products form the largest group in the workforce, displacing industrial workers, who formed the largest group after the Industrial Revolution and who in turn displaced agricultural and domestic workers, who dominated in pre-industrial times.

Schooling under these conditions changes profoundly, as illustrated in the *gestalt* in Figure 1 (Caldwell & Spinks, 1998, p. 13), with information and communication technology ensuring a high level of connectedness in the curriculum (g1); the transformation of the workplace for teachers (g2); new building designs more conducive to the new professionalism (g3); access to learning designs of the world's best teachers (g4); the need for high levels of professional support as teachers experience the turbulence of a fast-moving and often unpredictable social revolution (g5); the formulation of cyber policy (g6); and the reality of virtual schooling (g7).

FIGURE 1. A gestalt for schooling in the knowledge society



1. Schools will establish a richer range of professionals to work with and support teachers, with many of these located on site; but, increasingly in some respects, more will be located in other places as the best services are located and made available to meet the needs of all students.
2. Teachers will have access to the best resources to support their work, with many of these accessed from CD-ROM and the Internet, being assisted by learning resource specialists who locate and advise on sources, and help with financial and other arrangements to protect intellectual capital.
3. Students, teachers and other professionals will increasingly work in teams, reflecting a pattern that is widely evident in workplace arrangements in other fields, with many parallels for professionals in education and medicine.
4. Schools will expand their policies and practices for the pastoral care of students, given the high expectations for all to succeed, and, especially as learning is dispersed, they will maintain their duty of care and will require cyber policy on care in virtual schools.
5. Pastoral care for teachers will be important in view of the shift to the 'new professionalism' and major changes in roles, responsibilities and accountabilities, with professional development, individually and in teams, being one element in the strategy.
6. Issues of access and equity will be addressed in school cyber policy, with a range of strategies, including the sharing of resources among schools; partnerships with the private sector for donations and subsidies; and the creation of community-based learning centres.
7. A strategic approach will be taken to the adoption of new learning technology, taking account of the time required for training, encouraging creative approaches to utilizing and sharing such technology as it comes to hand, and setting targets for universal access.
8. Virtual schooling will be a reality at every stage of schooling, but there will still be a place called school, with approaches to virtual schooling including neighbourhood educational houses, especially for the very young.
9. Lifelong learning centres that include schools will be the symbolic if not the physical centre of some communities, being the outcome of comprehensive planning by a consortium of public and private interests.
10. New cultures for learning will take hold in schools for the knowledge society, complementing such widely accepted concepts as 'lifelong learning' with approaches such as 'just-in-time learning' that allow state-of-the-art approaches to learning and teaching to be designed and delivered at short notice in any setting for all learners.

Taken together, these two sets of strategic intentions provide an expansive and uplifting view of the 'new professional'. Given the growing international consensus on requirements for schooling in the twenty-first century, adoption of this view may be an imperative if success is to be achieved. The good news is that there are thousands of new professionals in a host of world-class schools around the globe. The challenge is to build the capacity of all.

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PROFESSIONALS AND PARENTS: PERSONAL ADVERSARIES OR PUBLIC ALLIES?[1]

Andy Hargreaves

Teachers in many countries experience more anxiety about their relationships and interactions with parents than about almost any other aspect of their work (Hargreaves & Fullan, 1998). While the rhetoric that teachers should treat parents as partners in their children's education is widespread (Epstein, 1995; Vincent, 1996*a*; Webb & Vulliamy, 1993; Sanders & Epstein, 1998), and while more than a few positive partnerships exist in practice, the more pervasive reality is often very different. In his masterly work entitled *The sociology of teaching*, published in 1932, Willard Waller was characteristically blunt about the matter:

> From the ideal point of view, parents and teachers have much in common in that both, supposedly, wish things to occur for the best interests of the child; but in fact, parents and teachers usually live in conditions of mutual distrust and enmity. Both wish the child well, but it is such a different kind of well that conflict must inevitably arise over it. The fact seems to be that parents and teachers are natural enemies, predestined each for the discomfiture of the other (p. 68).

The task of establishing strong partnerships between teachers and parents is indeed fraught with problems. These include the fact that parents are concerned about their own child, whereas teachers must consider all the children in the class (Sikes, 1995); that secondary school teachers in particular usually teach too many students to be able to know them or their parents well (Sizer, 1992; Meier, 1998); that time demands on teachers squeeze their interactions with parents to the margins (Hargreaves, 1994); that teachers are expected to maintain a professional distance from parents (Grumet, 1988) and are often from socio-economic or socio-cultural backgrounds

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A biographical note about the author appears on page 167.

that separate them socially from lower-class or minority parents as well (Lindblad & Prieto, 1992; Burgess, Herphes & Moxan, 1991); and that parents in uncertain times are inclined to be excessively anxious for their children, demanding of their teachers and insistent that, as people who were once students themselves, they have a right to question teachers' expertise (Labaree, 1999).

These obstacles to building successful partnerships between teachers and parents are formidable, but by no means insurmountable (Epstein, 1995). With so many students at risk and the quality of public education in jeopardy, the necessity for strong teacher–parent partnerships is so great, especially where parents are difficult and students are demanding, that the problems cannot be allowed to defeat us. The remainder of this paper therefore explores three broad kinds of parent–teacher partnership: silent partnerships, partnerships involving mutual learning and support, and activist partnerships that form the foundation of a social movement for educational change.

Silent partnerships: discreet distance and unquestioning support

Involving parents in their children's education, especially during the early years of schooling, can significantly improve their learning (Sanders, 1997; Henderson, 1987; Villa-Boas, 1993). By helping their children to learn at home, reading them stories and hearing them read aloud, taking an active interest in their schoolwork, ensuring that homework obligations are met and that appropriate space is set aside for completing them, and generally cultivating values of diligence, perseverance and willingness to defer gratification, parents can prove to be great assets in their children's education (Sanders & Epstein, 1998).

Outside Western ways of educating, in many Asian families for example, these parental values and virtues appear to exist in abundance. Through the encouragement they offer to and the pressure they put on their children in the home, many Asian parents are effectively their school's and its teachers' *silent partners*. In many Asian cultures, some attribute this support-at-a-distance to the historical influence of the Confucian tradition. The opening sentence of Confucius' *Analects* (1929), for example, asks rhetorically: 'Is it not pleasant to learn with a constant perseverance and application?' As Lee Wing On (1996, p. 30) summarizes the issue, 'the concept that everyone is educable, everyone can become a sage and everyone is perfectible, forms the basic optimism and dynamism towards education in the Confucian tradition'. This tradition, together with the economic and educational competitiveness of post-war modernization in Japan and other Asian societies, has led to the belief (in families as in schools) that achievement is primarily the result of effort, not ability (Biggs, 1996). In this situation, where the goals of learning are shared between home and school, and where the technology of teaching is relatively straightforward and familiar (in terms of whole-class teaching, seatwork, and question-and-answer routines), parents become the teacher's ideal silent partner—pushing the student to work harder at home, while maintaining a respectful distance from the teacher and his or her expertise at school (Shimahara & Sakai, 1995).

However, in most places now, even in Asian countries, the conditions for these silent partnerships between home and school apply less and less. The goals of learning are becoming disputed and the pedagogies of schooling are no longer straightforward or uncontroversial. What children need to learn and what teachers must teach are changing. We are living in a time of dramatic change—variously termed the late modern, post-modern, post-industrial or informational age (Castells, 1996; Hargreaves, 1994). A schooling system that excessively emphasizes basic skills, memorization and recall of factual knowledge cannot develop the capacities for creation and innovation that are essential for living and working successfully in informational societies (Schlechty, 1990). In response to this palpable economic and technological reality, the Singapore Government has committed itself to creating 'thinking schools for a learning society'. The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China has experimented with 'the activity approach' in its primary schools, and embraced the idea of 'pleasurable learning' as one of its official educational goals. Meanwhile, Japan has started to turn away from a highly centralized and standardized educational system to one that permits and encourages much more local innovation and flexibility (Shimahara, 1997).

Even in Asian societies, therefore, the tacit agreement on learning goals that existed between homes and schools in pedagogically simpler times is collapsing. As the explosion in pedagogical science impacts more and more on schools—in areas such as co-operative learning, constructivism, metacognition and portfolio assessment—parents are becoming and will become increasingly bewildered by these developments, especially if teachers use the language of *classical professionalism* to defend and distance their expertise in relation to the ordinary language and understandings of parents (Nespor, 1997).

Silent partnerships are no longer sustainable when the goals of learning and strategies of teaching take dramatically new directions. Teaching parents as well as students about new developments in learning is one way of developing a new professionalism to promote partnerships between home and school. Developing parents' understanding and alleviating their anxiety by communicating new developments in plain language, explaining learning outcomes accessibly, demonstrating new teaching strategies through workshops, making students' work and learning more visible through the use of portfolios and exhibitions, setting shared homework assignments to be completed with a family member, and opening schools and classrooms up to parent observation are just some of the ways in which the value of new approaches to teaching and learning can be made more transparent to parents. Similarly, teachers have much to learn from many parents about areas such as information technology. The learning to be undertaken does not all run in one direction.

Learning partnerships: mutual learning and support

In addition to meeting the challenge of explaining new learning and teaching goals and strategies to parents, teachers are having to relate differently to parents and communities beyond their school because of the increasingly multicultural nature

of many of the world's towns and cities, and the impact of changing family structures on the work of teachers.

More and more children come from cultures that are different from and unfamiliar to those of their teachers. Students' families are also changing in their structure and form. They are more post-modern and permeable (Elkind, 1997). They comprise single-parent families, blended families, families with parents who spend much of their lives apart, and families without parents at all. In addition to coming from different cultures and families, many of today's young people in informational societies live in a world of what Castells (1996) calls *real virtuality*—of walkmen, cellphones, video cassette recorders (VCRs), multi-channel television, music television (MTV), computers and video games. For the youth of today, a profusion of images *is* their most insistent reality, and this affects *what* they learn, *how* they learn, and *how well* they learn, in home and school alike.

What all this means for many teachers whose mean age is well into the 40s in most Western countries (OECD, 1998) is that their students today are, in Bigum and Green's (1993) words, 'aliens in the classroom'. Likewise, their students' parents are 'aliens in the community'. All too often, teachers look at students and parents with growing incomprehension. Frequently, they just do not know what motivates them.

The changes that teachers see are not in their imaginations. Behaviour in classrooms is more problematic, learning styles are more variable, and what teachers teach can no longer be taken for granted. Sadly, however, in many cases, instead of engaging with students' changing cultures and families and really trying to understand them, many educators see changes in parents and communities as largely (and sometimes exclusively) changes for the worse. They tend to have assumptions and expectations about parental interest and support that are socially or ethnoculturally biased—misconstruing problems of poverty as problems of single-parenthood (Levin & Riffel, 1997), regarding failure to attend meetings or other officially organized events as parents' failure to support their children or the school (Central Advisory Council for Education, 1967), and measuring all parenting of young children or 'sensitive mothering' (Vincent & Warren, 1998) against a yardstick of practice that is culturally skewed towards middle-class norms (Burgess, Herphes & Moxan, 1991). In all too many cases, teachers see only obstacles in the changing lives and cultures of their students, families and communities, rarely opportunities. My own research repeatedly points to this.

For example, when my colleagues and I asked focus groups of teachers in every Canadian province and territory about how social changes had affected their work, the responses were consistently negative and critical. They depicted all change in families and communities as a problem, none of it as an opportunity (Earl et al., 1999). The following quotations are typical:

> Many of our students have family problems—divorce, separation, alcohol, gambling, etc.

> The extra baggage that kids bring to school—more single parents, poverty, breakup of the family, hunger and the spin-off in violence and anger in young people—necessitates social programs to help them.

There has been a blurring of school and home responsibility with a shared responsibility for social and emotional development. The incursion of non-educational issues into schools means less time for teaching.

In a separate study on the emotions of teaching and educational change, in which my colleagues and I interviewed fifty-three teachers and asked them (among other things) about positive and negative emotional incidents with parents, teachers reported being angry with parents who expected too much of them; afraid of parents who 'blew up', were 'livid' and 'leaped all over' them; annoyed with parents who thought 'they're experts in education' and questioned teachers' professional judgement; frustrated with parents who appeared not to care about their children's absences, bad behaviour or poor work habits (and would even lie to protect them); exasperated by parents who would believe their child's word before the teacher's; and bitter about parents who constantly criticized the system. In comparison, teachers experienced positive emotion when parents thanked them, supported them or agreed with them. On no occasion did teachers cite a source of positive emotion with parents as being when they had actually learned something from them.

Vincent's (1996*b*) research shows that most teachers want parents to work with the school as *supporters* or *learners*. They enlist parental support in terms of raising funds, organizing special lunches, preparing materials, mixing paints, hearing children read, and so on. This approach to partnership leaves existing versions of the teacher's professional authority intact. What teachers do not seem to want, says Vincent, are partnerships with parents in which they learn as much from parents as parents do from them, and in which communication, learning and power run between teacher and parent in two directions, not one. This is exceptionally important when students and their parents are from cultures and communities that are very different from the teacher's (Ogbu, 1982; Moore, 1994).

This issue is highlighted in baseline interview data from ten teachers in one of four secondary schools with which my colleagues and I are currently working on a school improvement project. This school had changed from being in a small village to having a large, diverse multicultural population move into its area of rapidly expanding housing development.

What we found was that while teachers in special education, in administrative positions, or who were parents themselves tried to reach out to the busy and diverse parent body, and work with it effectively, other teachers found establishing relationships a struggle. Contacts were episodic and invariably teacher-initiated—on parents' nights or when teachers telephoned pupils' homes to discuss a problem (most often, a problem of attendance). 'If I don't initiate it', one teacher said, 'I don't often hear from parents'. 'Although parents are very supportive when necessary', another teacher said, 'I don't see the parent involvement that I would like to see or that other teachers would like to see'. This teacher, who had ninety students, recalled, that only one parent turned up at 'Meet the Teachers' night. Another teacher tried 'to bring parents in and to involve them more in the life of the school' by, for example, telephoning all parents of ninety students at the beginning of the school year. But

the poor response led him to conclude that 'parents are really stressed and...sort of abdicating their responsibility of educating the kids to an institution'.

In the emotions project I described earlier, we also found that the positive emotions which secondary school teachers experience with parents occur almost exclusively in episodic events such as parents' evenings and one-to-one conferences. By contrast, only one teacher in fifty-three mentioned how positive emotions occurred in more casual circumstances when the teacher met a parent within his or her own community (this was in the one rural secondary school in our sample). Meanwhile, negative emotion in secondary schools between parents and teachers was reported as occurring largely on the telephone or in writing—usually in relation to issues of behaviour or attendance. There is little chance of developing any kind of intellectual or 'emotional understanding' (Denzin, 1984) between parents and secondary school teachers, when encounters between them are normally so formal, infrequent and episodic.

A second issue in the secondary school case study we investigated was that teachers developed the purposes and mission of the school themselves, as a set of professionals, without involving students or parents. It was the teachers' job to explain the school's purposes to students and parents through the parents' council, parents' night, the school handbook, the barbecue for the families of incoming Grade 8 students, 'messages that go home' and 'printed material that goes out with the report cards'. It was not seen as the teachers' job to include parents themselves (or students) in developing the school's purposes.

Third, when we asked teachers about the political skills they needed in their work, they identified quite different skills as being necessary for working with colleagues and parents respectively. Working with colleagues entailed largely passive skills of tact, understanding, patience, being yourself, listening, modelling and compromising. Working with communities involved more active, even directive skills of communicating, marketing, publicizing, telling one's story, presenting information and advocating. Collegial skills involved working *with* people. Community skills involved working *on* them. Treating parents and the public as partners to learn *from*, and not just people to persuade and present *to*, was a leap of political imagination that our case study teachers had not yet made.

Given the post-modern families and societies in which many children now live, it is exceedingly important that partnerships between professionals and parents allow and encourage teachers to learn about their students' lives, families and cultures, which shape their prior knowledge, frame what is important and motivating for them, and influence how they learn best. However, especially at the secondary level, evidence suggests that most partnerships remain ones of support (either silent or active) in which little professional learning by teachers from parents is evident or even wanted.

This form of relationship in which parents are active or unquestioning supporters of what teachers do keeps teachers in a state of classical professionalism which distances them, intellectually and emotionally, from the learning and lives of the increasingly diverse and demanding students they teach (as well as from their families). This makes it harder for teachers to help their students.

New forms of what Goodson in this issue calls more *principled professionalism* are needed, whereby teachers engage with parents in relationships of reciprocal learning that are more open, interactive and inclusive in character. As Willard Waller (1932) once said, 'it would be a sad day for childhood if parent–teacher work ever really succeeded' in "getting parents to see children more or less as teachers see them"'—even more so in the diverse communities of today.

None of this is to suggest that all parents are virtuous and that teachers are simply insensitive villains in the partnership drama. We should avoid idealizing partnerships representing all parents (or indeed teachers) as being altruistic and perfect. But it is even, and especially, when parents are critical, suspicious and difficult that partnerships are most essential. These are, after all, the only parents that children have! Teachers must move towards the danger here, rather than closet themselves away (Maurer, 1996; Hargreaves & Fullan, 1998). Schools can, and many do, offer parents with social, emotional and psychological difficulties vital services and support through collaborating with community agencies; for example, Sanders and Epstein (1998) cite a wide range of international studies that point to specific strategies for involving low-income poor parents, especially in their children's education, such as workshops and home visits (Villa-Boas, 1993). It is in teachers' own interests to treat even seemingly problematic parents not just as irritants or as targets for appeasement, but as the most important allies that teachers have in serving those parents' own students and also, as we shall see, in defending themselves against political assaults on their professionalism.

Activist partnerships: professionals and parents as social movements

Building partnerships with parents and others within a new, more principled professionalism means more than showing—as a teacher—greater individual empathy with and understanding of parents. Creating a more principled, open and inclusive professionalism is a *public project*, not just a private one. According to Hargreaves and Goodson (1996) and Goodson's paper in this issue, such a principled professionalism promotes high teaching standards that are used for moral purposes to advance the public good of all children; it stimulates and supports professional learning and collegial interaction to help clarify the moral purposes of teaching and to keep pushing standards higher in order to achieve those purposes; it is open to, inclusive of and actively learns from others (especially parents) who have a stake in children's education and children's futures; and it takes an activist stance (Sachs, 1999) beyond the classroom as well as within it to defend and develop public education on which teachers' own long-term effectiveness and the good of all children ultimately rest. The feasibility of this principled professionalism rests on teachers being open to, engaging with and developing understanding among parents and the public, on whom the future of teaching and public education ultimately depends.

The public is yet to be convinced that teachers need more time to work with one another, and not just their students, for example. It has, in large part, yet to

understand how and why teaching and the students that teachers teach have changed since the time most parents were themselves at school. Governments, the public and organizations such as the World Bank are not yet persuaded to commit themselves to the kinds of tax increases that would benefit the public education system and the quality of those who teach in it. For too long, much of the public has been a fragmented body of individuals—prone to nostalgia in an age of uncertainty, impressionable in the face of political and media-driven derision of schools and teachers today, and too easily convinced by the market ideology of parental choice which helps them believe that in times of chaos, at least their own private, individual choices can benefit their own children in their own schools (Crozier, 1998). It is now vital that the teaching profession should work in partnership with the public to become a vigorous social movement (Touraine, 1995) of acting subjects who work together to improve the quality and the professionalism of teaching, rather than being a set of fragmented individuals who act as clients only in their families' private interest.

When I describe the contributions of the teaching profession to a wider social movement, what I have in mind is something like the environmental, peace or women's movements. Such social movements are neither driven by the self-serving market nor entirely provided by the sometimes dependency-creating State. They do not take the form of official organizations or political representation (like parent/teacher associations) but may include such things. Social movements may begin through reaction and resistance (like the Zapatistas in Mexico) but can and, at their best also do, become extremely proactive (like the Environmental Movement). In both cases, they challenge the existing order of things. Social movements have a wide-ranging repertoire of strategies incorporating networks, lobbying, protest, marches, media campaigns, lifestyle choices, sometimes formal bodies, and much more.

As Byrne (1997) argues, 'social movements are expressive in that they have beliefs and moral principles and they seek to persuade everyone—governments, parents, the general public, anyone who will listen—that these values are the right ones'. They are rooted not in self-interest but in a clear moral purpose which ultimately benefits the universal good. Despite many differences and conflicts within social movements (for example, among different feminisms), this high level of unity of purpose is what drives the movement and holds it together. In that sense, social movements are uncompromising—their principles must remain unadulterated and not be compromised for short-term tactical gains (Byrne, 1997). Lastly, these movements are embedded in what Lash & Urry (1994, p. 243) as well as Castells (1996, p. 126) call *glacial time*—in the creation of and commitment to a long-term future that does not protect and preserve the interests of just one group but advances the good of all our children and grandchildren for generations to come.

Social movements arise in response to the fragmentation of consumer society, the abstractness of globalization and information technology, and the exhaustion and emptiness of official politics as globalized economies erode the capacity of governments to exercise national policy control and reduce them to the electronically monitored and digitally massaged politics of opinion polls, focus groups, personal style and public scandal (Castells, 1996). Social movements provide ways beyond these

official and empty politics for people to find meaning and hope in projects whose values resonate with groups and individuals far beyond them.

Social movements are empowering for their adherents. They acknowledge that those who stand aside from social change are 'those who consume society rather than producing and transforming it [and] are subordinate to those who are in charge of the economy, politics and information' (Touraine, 1995, p. 233). They are 'purposive collective actions whose outcome, in victory as in defeat, transforms the values and institutions of society' (Castells, 1996, p. 3–4).

These social movements, says Castells (1996, p. 361), are 'the potential subjects of the Information Age', perhaps our best hopes for a democratic, sustainable and socially just future. It is in these diffuse and subtle networks that our best hopes for positive change may rest, even when the possibilities for such change seem most remote. As Touraine (1995, p. 241) puts it:

> It is in moments of solitude and desolation, and in the face of a seemingly inevitable future that the consciousness of certain individuals comes to feel itself responsible for the freedom of others.

What better candidate for a social movement than public education? When democracies are threatened by military dictatorships, teachers are the first to be tortured, killed or go missing. When General Franco took control of Spain, Catalonian teachers were immediately removed from their region's schools so that children would no longer speak their own language (Castells, 1996). Many systems have dealt teachers such a bad hand in the last decade that the profession is now experiencing severe crises of recruitment as its image spirals continually downwards. Even the sons and daughters of teachers are being warned not to follow their parents into an increasingly devalued profession. Do we have to wait for teachers to go missing or recruitment supply lines to dry up to grasp how important teachers are to democracy and public life?

When the arteries of communication with government are blocked—as they are when governments remain under the sway of neo-liberal market ideologies, and have minimal commitment to public education and public life—teachers must build a by-pass around governments, and capture the public imagination about education and teaching today, on which governments and their electability ultimately depend. Developing a principled professionalism that opens schools and teachers up to parents and the public—one classroom, one school at a time—with learning running authentically in both directions, is most likely to build the capacity, trust, commitment and the support for teachers and teaching on which the future of their professionalism in the post-modern age will depend.

We are now in a age where teachers deal with a diverse and complex clientele, in conditions of increasing moral uncertainty, where many methods of approach are possible, and where more and more social groups have an influence and a say. Whether this age will see exciting and positive new partnerships being created with parents and others beyond the school, and teachers learning to work effectively, openly and

authoritatively with those partners in a broad social movement that protects and advances their professionalism; or whether it will witness the de-professionalization of teaching as teachers crumble under multiple pressures, intensified work demands, reduced opportunities to learn from colleagues, and enervating discourses of derision that shame and blame them for their shortcomings and sap them of their spirit—this is something that is still to be settled. This future should not be left to 'fate' but should be shaped by the active intervention of all educators and others in a social movement for educational change which really understands and advances the principle that if we want better classroom learning for students, we have to create superb professional learning and working conditions for those who teach them.

The conditions for such a social movement to grow and flourish are now starting to take shape at the turn of the century. The teacher demographics are favourable—a bulge of imminent retirements (hastened by teachers' demoralization due to the effects of educational reform) is leading to a crisis of teacher recruitment (and an opportunity for teacher renewal) in many parts of the world. Governments are consequently having to take steps (often small ones at first) to improve the public image of teaching so as to attract more people into the profession—by, for example, establishing impressive commissions on the future of the profession in the United States (Darling-Hammond, 1997) and on the status of teaching in Australia (Commonwealth of Australia, 1998), by committing themselves to higher pay rises than usual in New Zealand or devising schemes to reward advanced skills teachers in England and Australia. While some of these specific policies miss the mark, it is clear that governments are nonetheless beginning to bend. The public demographics are also favourable—with the ageing boomer generation seeing their own offspring leave home, and starting to become involved in their later years less with their own private interests and their own families, and more with volunteering and participating in the wider community (Foot & Stoffman, 1996). Around the developed world, social democratic rather than neo-liberal governments are becoming the norm. Opportunities are emerging that can be seized and used for the educational good of all.

The forces of de-professionalization in teaching have already cut deep. But the objective prospects for a reinvigorated, principled professionalism, and the creation of a broad social movement that would support it, are strong. If teachers want to become professionally stronger, they must now open themselves up and become more publicly vulnerable and accessible. They must move towards the danger. That is their paradoxical challenge in the informational age of today.

Note

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PROFESSIONALISM IN TEACHING

WHEN TEACHING CHANGES, CAN TEACHER EDUCATION BE FAR BEHIND?

Miriam Ben-Peretz

You and I are going to change the world.
Others have said it,
But never mind!
You and I are going to change the world.
A popular Israeli song by Arik Einstein

There is, according to Jackson (1986), no definition of teaching that holds for all times and all places; however, there might be a common thread running through diverse approaches to teaching. This common thread concerns the 'transformative' quality of teaching—the attempt to change the students in some profound manner, and through these changes to have an impact on society at large. Jackson distinguishes between a mimetic and a transformative tradition in orientation towards teaching. The mimetic tradition emphasizes the transfer of factual and procedural knowledge from one person to another, whereas the transformative tradition seeks to effect a qualitative change in the person being taught, a metamorphosis in attitudes and character. It seems to me, however, that to a certain extent, all education is to be viewed as transformative, because

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changing a person's knowledge base might have far-reaching consequences for this person's set of values, and attitudes towards life, as well as for his or her future social involvement. New perceptions of teaching have a potential relationship to this transformative effect, and therefore to the process of teacher education. According to Goodlad (1990), teacher education programmes should be characterized by the conditions of learning that future teachers are to establish in their own practice. It seems that we are confronted by a situation in which changes in teaching are intensively sought; however, without relevant changes in teacher education programmes these are going to be limited in scope and viability.

Major recent changes in the theory and practice of teaching

Several recent changes in the theory and practice of teaching will be mentioned in this paper. It has to be emphasized, however, that these are not necessarily completely new ideas, nor are they widely implemented.

Changes in the perception and practice of teaching may be divided into the following categories:

1. changes in our understanding of the learning process, such as the Vygotskian theoretical perspective emphasizing socially shared cognition, joint activity and the role of the zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978). Vygotsky stressed the role of language and mentors in the development of cognitive function. His theory has had a strong impact on our conception of the learning process;
2. changes in our understanding of the teaching process such as 'teaching for understanding'. Lampert and Loewenberg-Ball (1998, p. 32) explain what it means to teach mathematics for understanding: 'Teachers are to help students delve more deeply into the underlying meanings of the mathematics, engage their classes in discussions of problems and ideas, reasoning and understanding rather than merely emphasizing performance'. On the other hand, teaching is also perceived as preparing students for the achievement of clear and challenging standards for their learning;
3. changes in our conceptions of the nature of the subject-matter for and in education. Two tendencies can be identified:
   (i) inclusion of new subjects in the curriculum, such as environmental issues and peace education;
   (ii) an orientation towards subject integration.

Bernstein (1971) distinguishes between a collection type of curriculum in which subjects to be taught are clearly separated from one another, and an integrated type in which subjects are in open relation to one another and links are sought between them. Bernstein speaks about 'classification', namely the degree to which subjects are kept separate, and 'frame', the degree of control that teachers and students have over the selection of knowledge and modes of teaching:

Any collection code involves an hierarchical organization of knowledge, such that the ultimate mystery of the subjects is revealed very late in the educational life. By the ultimate mystery of the subject, I mean its potential for creating new realities. It is also the case, and this is important, that the ultimate mystery of the subject is not coherence, but incoherence; not order, but disorder; not the known, but the unknown (p. 240).

Attempts are being made now to move from a high degree of classification and tight framing, namely central control over selection of content and teaching, to a more integrated curriculum and more teacher and student autonomy.

Stenhouse (1975, p. 50) describes the humanities projects in England as an example of weakened classification boundaries between subject areas and of loose framing: 'Framing was very weak, the structure being provided less by commonality of selection, organizing and pacing of knowledge than by the acceptance of a common teacher role, that of neutral chairman'.

4. changes in the conception of teachers' workplace and the nature of teachers' work (Rosenholtz, 1989; McLaughlin, 1994). Teachers are admonished to become members of a 'community of learners', engaged in a shared professional discourse about teaching and learning (Freeman, 1991);
5. the growing role of technology in teaching. Dramatic changes in the technology available to schools occurred in the 1980s and 1990s. Interactive computer programs are suitable for problem-solving strategies, and the Internet provides a vast amount of information whenever needed. Computer-aided instructions might individualize the learning process and free students from dependence on their teachers as sources of knowledge.

The potential contribution of modern technology to education is in two areas: the learning process and the functions of teachers. Bracelett and Laferrière (1996), in their review of research concerning the impact of technology on learning in schools, show that integrating technology into teaching has a positive impact on learners and the function of teachers. Learners benefit through the strengthening of cognitive abilities, an increase in motivation and the promotion of collaboration with others inside and outside schools (Brown & Campione, 1996).

As part of the transmission of knowledge is transferred to computers teachers gain time to work with students individually and in small groups and serve more as guides and partners in the learning process. The benefits accruing from modern technology are dependent, however, on teachers' mastery and skill in this domain.

Let us turn to some concrete examples of changes in teaching in one school in Israel. This is a large school (Grades 1–12) serving a mainly middle-class population. Visiting a first-grade class, one is immediately struck by the, by now, normative change in seating arrangements for group work and by the pleasant and non-threatening atmosphere. Attempts are made to integrate different subjects, such as art and mathematics. However, the worksheets for all students are identical and the teacher is the dominant figure in the classroom. Each student has access to computers, but there is no clear evidence of open-ended inquiry. Another class—a twelfth-grade class—allows for quite far-reaching student autonomy. Students determine

significant parts of their curriculum and can miss up to 15% of the overall class time without having to ask for permission. We see that 'framing' is rather weak. On the other hand, classification is quite pronounced with strong boundaries between subject areas, and the teaching style is mainly traditional. It seems that in this case some features of schooling have changed, but teachers are uncertain about further developments, for instance in the realm of alternative evaluation strategies. New models of teachers' education have to be found if recent changes in our perception of teaching and learning are to find their way into classrooms.

Some guiding principles for re-inventing teacher education

In view of the constraints and existing regularities of teacher education programmes, any attempt to introduce radical changes into these programmes is almost doomed to fail (Sarason, 1996). Therefore, the most important principle for changing teacher education is feasibility. Several parameters are deemed crucial for any significant innovation to be achieved. Katz and Rath (1990) proposed a matrix of parameters for conducting research into teacher education. These parameters include goals, characteristics of candidates, characteristics of staff, content, methods, time and timing, ethos, regulations, resources and evaluating practices. The degrees of freedom which planners of teacher education have in dealing with these parameters are limited. Resources might be scarce, and regulations and laws concerning certification and licence requirements, as well as the stipulations of teacher unions, might have strong restraining effects on innovators. The selection of candidates might be difficult since we do not yet have valid and sound criteria, and because testing of candidates might be considered to be unresponsive to cultural differences. As to the characteristics of staff, the question arises whether it is feasible to engage new faculty on a large scale in existing teacher education programmes.

Moreover, as Sarason (1996) has shown, the existing regularities of the culture of educational institutions make the introduction of changes extremely difficult. Thus, if the practicum usually starts after studies of the foundation disciplines of education, it is difficult to start a teacher education programme with intensive practicum experiences. If a degree in subject-matter areas is a prerequisite for the programmes, it is difficult to teach courses which integrate subject-matter and pedagogy from the start. If student teachers are evaluated individually, it is difficult to introduce group evaluation strategies. These are just a few examples of the obstacles and complications that stand in the way of innovation in teacher education. Obstacles might be surmounted and complications might be unravelled, but innovators have to remember always that plans which are not feasible are futile and even counterproductive.

This brings us to another principle of changing teacher evaluation programmes, namely the importance of comprehensiveness, or a holistic approach.

In order to have an impact on the professional identity of student teachers the preservice programme has to express clear and explicit directions in a concerted manner.

The teacher education programme of Mills College in Oakland, California, is a good example of the embodiment of several common guidelines, such as constructivism in all parts of the programme, which has indeed made an impact on students. Trying to plan and implement a comprehensive programme is in itself a valuable experience.

As teacher educators come together to deliberate about their plan they get to know one another's theories about teaching and teacher education, and they learn to construct an overall 'big picture', a kind of jigsaw puzzle in which the pieces fit together. Throughout this process they are transformed into a learning community which has the potential to serve as an example to their students.

Changing some elements without paying attention to possible contradictions between these and other, more traditional parts might cause overall failure and disappointment. For instance, changing the teaching style in a programme while keeping traditional modes of student assessment is bound to confuse student teachers and to have a negative feedback effect on the implementation of the new teaching modes. On the other hand, multiple changes in the programme might reinforce one another and create a synergetic positive effect.

Ben-Peretz (1995) argues that synergy might serve as an explanatory construct for understanding the phenomenon of school reform: 'it is contended that the complex interaction of the many factors involved yields results which cannot be accounted for by simply weighing the potential impact of each factor by itself' (p. 93). Synergy in teacher education programmes might accrue, for instance, from the interaction of appropriate styles of teaching and evaluation. Another case would be the matching of group work in the university part of the programme with group work in the practicum. Thus, the third principle in devising innovative teacher education programmes relates to the exploration of possible contradictions or synergetic effects among the different elements of the programme.

Much has been written about the necessity of creating 'communities of learners' in schools both among students (Brown & Campione 1996) and among teachers (Rosenholtz, 1989; Little, 1990). Teachers are no longer perceived as 'lonely' (Lortie, 1975), but as members of communities of peers which have the potential for working together in non-contrived collegiality. Hargreaves (1992) views contrived collegiality as representing an imposed, bureaucratic mode, regulated from above. Such contrived collegiality might work against teachers' needs and inclinations.

Teacher education programmes wishing to foster dispositions and competencies for working in teacher communities among their students have to plan carefully, so that their senses of privacy and autonomy are not offended.

Nevertheless, a perception of schools as consisting of educational communities in which members learn through interaction and experience is conceived here as an important guiding principle for planning teacher education programmes.

The last principle to be mentioned concerns emphasis on the personal dimension of teaching and teacher education. Payne and Manning (1998) claim that the human element, or the personal dimension of teaching, is missing in most current approaches to effective teaching. According to those authors, 'the essence of good

teaching must include the arena of human relationships' (p. 195). It is interesting to note that student teachers perceive negative aspects of teaching as pertaining to weakness in interpersonal relationships (Giladi & Ben-Peretz, 1981). Katz and Rath (1990) include the affective quality, or tone of the relationship, among programme participants, students and staff members in their definition of the programme ethos. They use an interesting term—'the content of relationships'—to indicate that what matters in the human element of programmes relates not only to the affective nature of the relationships but also to their content. If tutors in the programme focus mainly on the fulfilment of formal course requirements in their interaction with students, the potential affective tone of these interactions will not compensate for the lack of interest in the personal concerns and growth of students.

What then could be the nature of new programmes of teacher education that consider simultaneously recent change in the perception of teaching and the principles mentioned above?

The nature of innovative programmes of teacher education

The following are some characteristics of a teacher education programme that has the potential to prepare future teachers for recent changes in teaching and that is comprehensive as well as feasible.

Using the Katz and Rath matrix (1990) as a framework, I shall describe some of the desired features related to the major parameters suggested in the matrix. The main goal of the proposed innovative programme is clear: creating a match between a teaching mode that is responsive to changes in our understanding of the teaching/learning process, and the process of teacher education. What implications does this goal have for characteristics of candidates?

Obviously, candidates need mastery of the subject-matter they are going to teach and some awareness of possible linkages between different domains, such as between history and literature. This awareness can be raised through team-teaching in the disciplines at the pre-teacher education programme stage. Since this might prove to be difficult to implement, one can envision integrated subject courses becoming part of the teacher education curriculum. Such courses have to be team-taught jointly by experts in the disciplines and by classroom teachers who are able to share their pedagogical content knowledge with the student teachers.

Requiring a solid background in the disciplines before entering a teacher education programme would result in more-mature student teachers whose commitment to a teaching career would conceivably be stronger and more durable. To be able to teach in the demanding and complex educational situations which they are likely to face throughout their teaching career, teachers have to be ready to cope with great difficulties. The necessary attitudes and dispositions are to be sought among candidates. One way of identifying personal commitment in demanding and troublesome situations is to recruit candidates who have already worked in a variety of socially relevant circumstances, although this might not always be feasible.

The issue of staff raises an interesting question: what are the appropriate qualifications for teacher educators? The desired characteristics of teacher educators are closely linked to the chosen model and method of teacher education. Ben-Peretz (1996) distinguishes between the master teacher model and the joint problem-solving model. In the master teacher model, teacher educators are supposed to serve as personal models of professional knowledge, attitudes and actions. Sometimes a whole teacher education programme is based on the master teacher model: Paine (1989), for instance, views Chinese teacher education in terms of apprenticeship to masters in the art of teaching. Feiman-Nemser and Remillard (1994, p. 37) state that 'ideally the novice would learn how to work and act like a teacher by observing and engaging in the activities of teaching alongside a more experienced practitioner'.

The joint problem-solving model perceives teacher educators and student teachers as jointly engaged in the solving of real-life educational, school-based problems, whose solution is unknown to both parties. This approach to teaching–learning situations is advocated by Schwab (1954). Deciding whether a solution is appropriate depends on the specific context. Knowledge has to be held flexibly:

> not in the form of a script, but in the form of a web of multiply connected ideas for things to try [...] it is not a matter of learning the rules and then following them, it is a matter of casing out the situation you are in on a moment by moment basis, watching how students react to your response, constructing a new response in a cyclical improvisation (Heaton & Lampert, 1993, p. 58).

Experienced master-type teachers might find it difficult to share this kind of improvisation with student teachers and might be tempted to suggest rules and principles of practice, based on their own experiences.

Inexperienced teachers, who act as mentors, have no choice, since they lack the wealth of tried-out solutions and might search for appropriate ones in a joint effort with student teachers. The engagement in inquiry in trying to solve real school problems is conceived as the right context for learning to teach. Therefore, inexperienced teachers would qualify as teacher educators without, however, abandoning the involvement of experienced teachers.

Methods

Problem solving was presented above as the appropriate method for teacher education. What then is the role of foundation disciplines? How are theory and practice integrated and what, if any, is the role of experienced mentors?

It is vital to note that we are not talking about a dyad of 'mentor–student teachers' but about a group effort of mentor(s) and several student teachers.

In their attempt to deal with educational problems, whether theoretical or practical, the inexperienced mentor with his/her students would turn to intensive use of advanced technology, as well as to the help of experts in teaching and in the disci-

plines. Brown and Campione (1996) have described a similar process in which learning communities are engaged in inquiry in elementary classes.

The term 'strategies of teaching' is misleading in the context of joint problem-solving. In problem solving, the mentor/tutor, and the student teacher, are simultaneously teacher and learner. Therefore, the appropriate modes of interaction include joint teaching and post-teaching reflective sessions, leading to new planning and teaching. Journal keeping and written communications (whether in letters or by e-mail) are useful aids in the process of joint problem-solving. Interpretation of relevant literature and cases is another important component of this process. Experienced teachers and experts in the foundation disciplines might serve as consultants whenever needed.

Moreover, concurrently with the groups trying to solve problems, such as lack of student motivation and classroom management issues, opportunities are offered for studying relevant theoretical frameworks. Taped or live courses in psychology, sociology, curriculum and psychology, among others, would provide student teachers with a necessary knowledge base. Like the McMaster programme for medical education, teacher education could start with problems, and the students in their attempt to find solutions would search for the appropriate knowledge base and would also turn to the wisdom of experienced teachers. The process itself would be group-based. Different student teachers working jointly with novice teachers would focus on separate aspects of a problem, study it in depth and then share their insights with other group members in a jigsaw model. Appropriate solutions would be co-planned in the group and student teachers would then try out these solutions.

One can imagine small groups focusing on specific issues such as teaching heterogeneous classes, teaching algebra, dealing with discipline problems or student assessment. These groups would include practising teachers who are interested in these issues, as well as student teachers. Involvement in such groups from teacher education onwards would provide the basis for the ongoing existence of learning communities of teachers in schools.

As time and timing play a crucial role in this model of teacher education, I envision a five-year period of preparing future teachers. The first three years are to be devoted to a sound education in the various subject-matter domains, according to the personal choices made by student teachers. The fourth and fifth years focus on learning to teach and the creation of the first nucleus of pedagogical content knowledge. This part of the programme is school-based. One might view this process as a continuous practicum, with student teachers working in groups as described above.

The whole process might be perceived as representing a spiral curriculum. Its base consists of subject-matter knowledge, and it develops organically into ever-more reflective knowledge about and capabilities for teaching in new ways. Evaluation strategies have to match the emerging ethos of the programme.

Preparation of portfolios, journal writing and assessment of evidence of teaching will be at the centre of the evaluation, which will be group-oriented, documenting and assessing the nature of group work as well as the work of individuals.

Sensitive self-assessment by participants is conceived as helping future teachers to become more reflective about their educational actions.

The process envisioned deals simultaneously with several of the issues mentioned regarding changes in teaching. The learning process in the education programme is oriented towards inquiry and shared activities. Throughout this process student teachers are perceived as gaining a deeper understanding of and insights into learning and teaching. While there are manifold opportunities for encouraging the growth of communities of learners, the personal, humanistic qualities of teaching are emphasized in the day-to-day involvement in school life.

Advanced technology with its manifold uses becomes over time an important part of the student teachers' life in the programme.

What then is the ethos of such a programme? The essence of the programme lies in its emphasis on learning communities of teachers who become members in a community of practitioners, engaging in ongoing inquiry into the ever-changing situations in schools.

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PROFESSIONALISM IN TEACHING

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE UNITED STATES: POLICIES AND PRACTICES

Ann Lieberman and Milbrey McLaughlin

Introduction

The picture of teachers' professional development in the United States at the close of the century looks chaotic and incomprehensible since almost every education reform policy aims directly or indirectly to influence teachers' professional capacity. From almost any perspective in the policy system, it is difficult to see the strategic or practical connections among these various reform efforts. For example, some states have mandated higher standards and multiple assessments while limiting professional development time for teachers, while others are mandating massive changes in high school requirements and have no complementary professional development supports.

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In this paper, we first sketch the broad classes of reform policies involving teachers' professional development that are in play in the United States. We then look at experience at state and local levels with each of these policy approaches in order to suggest ways in which they support or frustrate sustained teacher learning and growth. Finally, we consider the challenges and persistent questions posed by efforts to use these policy tools in mutually reinforcing ways.

MULTIPLE REFORM GOALS, STRATEGIES AND POLICY TOOLS[1]

At least three broad classes of policies are prominent as strategies for stimulating and improving teachers' professional development: *standards-based strategies, school-based strategies, and development-based strategies that focus on teachers' professional learning.* These are overlapping rather than discrete policy tools; however, each pursues a somewhat different logic as a support, incentive or occasion for teachers' learning and professional growth.

Standards-based strategies

Standards-based strategies establish goals for teachers' professional performance; they have evolved primarily in two domains. The best known are strategies that feature changes in student learning goals, curriculum and assessment as levers for the improvement of teaching practice—and so an incentive for professional development. The logic of standards-based reform is that, once clear goals are specified, the other mechanisms of schooling—curriculum, teaching, teacher training, organizational features and other resources—will be marshalled to attain them.

Innovations framed by standards, curriculum guidance and tests aim to change teachers' instructional behaviour and the content to which students are exposed through the use of materials and tests that shape the assignments teachers set, the work that students do, and teachers' and students' conceptions of the subjects that they study. In some cases, the curricula are coupled with professional development programmes. The leverage for classroom change in these efforts is assumed to lie partly in their proximity to practice, partly in the very direct influence it is thought that they can or might exert on instruction, and partly in the opportunities they sometimes offer for teachers' learning. Studies of the effects of such efforts have consistently found that they typically have only a slight, erratic influence on classroom practice, except in the rare instances when they are accompanied by extended, carefully designed opportunities for teachers to learn and to participate in the co-construction of the reform.

Another standards-based approach, sometimes linked to the first one, is the setting of standards for what teachers should know and be able to do. Two leading examples are the efforts of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS), a professional body that has set standards and offers voluntary assessments to certify accomplished practice on the part of veteran teachers, and the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (INTASC), a consor-

tium of more than thirty states that has developed standards for licensing beginning teachers.

Although the two efforts are institutionally different (a private national professional body versus a state government-based effort), they both create ambitious standards for teachers' work and invite or require individuals or jurisdictions to meet them. Together, these initiatives assume that the key element in educational change is the knowledge, skills and norms of practice that professionals have and use, and that a cadre of teachers who meet such standards will be a powerful lever for change.

School-based reform strategies

Another class of reforms centres attention on the school, and the community of practice that operates there. Specific programmes and policies vary, but all focus on creating a school-wide approach to change, through governance changes (e.g. site-based management), structural changes (e.g. new schedules and grouping policies) and/or curriculum changes (e.g. school-wide goal-setting leading to the creation or adoption of new approaches to teaching), or by changing the professional culture of the school (e.g. implementing forms of inquiry into teaching and learning). Following on the heels of the 'effective schools' movement of the early 1980s, efforts such as those of the Coalition of Essential Schools, the School Development Program, the Accelerated Schools Project and others have sought to foster a community of shared practice within the school. Generally, the effort to create greater participation and a collective perspective among school staff is viewed as a resource for reform and an opportunity for teacher learning and change. The leverage for change is thought to lie initially in the transformation of professionals' sense of purpose and mission, and consequently in renewed instructional work they undertake together.

Teacher inquiry is presumed to offer occasions for teachers to engage in learning activities that rely on the primary material of their classrooms and to forge an inquiry-based culture in the school. It also functions as a 'disequilibriating' element, unsettling prior ideas and paving the way for constructing new, more effective ones. A related contribution of a dynamic learning community at the school level is its integrative capacity, or ability to help teachers come to a shared understanding of their goals for teaching and student learning, and so for their own practice. This seems to be particularly likely when teachers' work has been structured around shared students and/or subject-matter, including the examination of student work and teaching activities (McLaughlin, 1993; McLaughlin & Talbert, 1993).

Efforts to build a school-based learning community assume that the teachers' community affords a rich context for learning in which teachers can build on the faculty's collective expertise in the course of critical reflection and change. School-based professional development activities also assume that knowledge resources and other supports for teachers' learning are available inside or outside the school.

Development-based strategies

A large array of professional development policies comprises the third class of efforts to support teachers' learning. These focus on the development of individual teachers' capacities, from the pre-service teacher education programmes to the diverse occasions for development which teachers have throughout their careers. This class of policy variously locates opportunity for learning in such diverse institutional settings as universities, districts, special projects, networks and professional organizations, and takes different shapes and forms along teachers' professional paths. The assortment of national, state and local public and private programmes that assign or provide resources for teachers' learning throughout the various phases of teachers' careers can be made intensive and coherent, or may remain haphazard and contradictory in the implicit views of important knowledge and skills and how those might be acquired.

Both pre-service teacher education programmes and in-service development consistent with the premises of teacher learning provide explicit opportunities for teachers to learn how to be learners themselves and to learn about practice *in* practice that is both theoretically and practically grounded. Professional development available to practising teachers outside their school workplace takes many forms—from district in-service activities, to subject-matter networks, to school–university partnerships, to the activities associated with special reform projects (Lieberman & Grolnick, 1996). Professional development consistent with the ideals of a learning profession—whether pre- or in-service—understands teachers' learning as an intellectual problem as well as a problem of enactment, and situates leverage for change in teachers' active engagement in wrestling with new experiences and ideas, and in unlearning as well as learning new professional habits and expertise (Lieberman, 1996).

DIFFERENT POLICY LOGICS

Each of these classes of policy stems from a different logic regarding what stimulates and supports teachers' learning and professional development. Standards-based policies reflect a belief that setting expectations for student learning, on the one hand, and teacher performance, on the other, will produce more focused effort on the part of institutions and hence motivation and opportunity for teachers to become involved in professional development activities. In standards-based efforts that attach rewards and sanctions to teacher performance, there is an additional assumption that such incentives function as motivators, and can produce change. Alone, these policies do not treat questions of how teachers will learn to meet the standards, how schools will be organized to support them, or how the broader context provides the necessary knowledge resources and opportunities for development.

School-based strategies assume that teachers' learning will be enhanced by a more coherent approach to practice within the school. The unit of change is thought to be the school, not the individual teacher. In some versions of this approach, incentives include the rewards of heightened professional exchange and empowerment brought

about by broader faculty participation and inquiry. In others—for example, policies that designate penalties for 'failing' schools—negative consequences are thought to motivate teachers' improvement. Alone, such policies often do not look beyond the school for sources of expertise for solving teaching problems; nor do they concern themselves with the ways in which the resources, regulations and conceptions of education emanating from other agencies—school districts, federal or state governments—affect the school.

Professional development approaches target individual teachers' professional growth and provide access to knowledge of different kinds. This knowledge may include comprehensive programmes of preparation or specific areas of learning focused on particular reform initiatives, subject domains or student characteristics (language, culture or achievement, for example). The incentives associated with such approaches are both intrinsic—the satisfaction of becoming more effective and feeling more efficacious—and extrinsic—salary credits or mandates that stimulate or require participation. Alone, such approaches do not solve problems of what students or teachers should learn, how schools will be organized to ensure that such learning opportunities are available, and whether the strategies learned will support or conflict with other policies, practices or structures that affect teachers' work.

It is easy to see how, even in the best of circumstances, none of these strategies can by itself produce high-quality teaching. Without some system-wide agreements about what constitutes useful teaching and teaching knowledge and some systematic supports for acquiring it, as well as school contexts for enacting it, the knowledge or capacity which teachers may gain from particular independent development experiences may be at best partial and at worst unusable. Thus, the three policy strategies ultimately rely upon one another, and serve as complements rather than as single solutions to the problems of improving teaching and schooling.

Views from the field: how policies affect professional development practice

If each set of reform policies is incomplete in and of itself, each of them also becomes more problematic and complicated as it is transformed into practice. We draw upon our experience and research to consider how each is enacted and shaped by varying 'communities of practice', policy contexts and implementation choices.

STANDARDS-BASED STRATEGIES: VIEWS FROM PRACTICE

Not surprisingly, standards-based strategies, used alone, foster little professional growth but do promote teacher cynicism, defensiveness and frustration. Without opportunities for teachers to rethink their practice and identify ways to respond to new standards for teaching and learning, standards fall short as a policy intended to stimulate teachers' professional development. From teachers' perspectives, standalone standards operate more as a hammer and tool to punish teachers for disappointing student outcomes than as a lever for professional development. However,

when standards are used in concert with supports for professional growth, we see them playing an important role in focusing and giving substance to teachers' learning and interest in changing their classroom practices.

An especially effective state-level example can be seen in Maine, an essentially poor rural state, where there have been continuous reform policies emanating from the state in an effort to improve schools and reduce the inequities among schools. In 1996 Maine passed the Learning Results Law, which essentially set a common core of standards in all content areas and a set of six guiding principles describing what every child must know and be able to do when he or she leaves school. The law also calls for professional development with funds allocated on a per pupil basis (Ruff, Smith & Miller, in press).

In effect, Maine has created a set of reform policies that are to be mutually interacting—the Maine Common Core of Learning, the Maine Educational Assessment, and Professional Development—to implement the learning results. We highlight this example of how a state-wide policy on standards is transformed into school-wide practices by a local school/university partnership—the Southern Maine Partnership.[2] The Partnership is over twelve years old. During this time, work has continued on school restructuring, while unique forms of professional development have been created. For example, an early strategy of dinner discussions of articles on topics chosen by teachers and principals set the tone for parity among school- and university-based educators. What began as discussion groups has become a loose-knit group of schools and a small group of university personnel who arrange activities together that are both broad (encouraging schools to enter for different activities) and deep (schools working in smaller sub-networks intensely involved in assessment, new graduation requirements and enhanced teacher practice, often with additional funding for particular projects) (Miller & O'Shea, 1996).

All Partnership initiatives stem from a core belief that problems of practice must drive the agenda and that learner-centred principles must serve as guiding values. Over five years ago, the Partnership was introduced to the School Quality Review (SQR) process, which involved schools in 'developing local comprehensive assessment systems, creating the organizational capacity to support and sustain change, and working on an expanded teacher repertoire' (Ruff, Smith & Miller, p. 7). Schools created a set of common principles and built a focus for their own inquiry, using and adapting a variety of tools, including a collaborative assessment conference, descriptive review, tuning protocols, shadowing students and reviewing student data. Working together, under the auspices of the Partnership, these schools developed standards and assessment tools, and in the process found ways to change teacher practice and school structure to better support student learning (Lieberman & Miller, forthcoming). It is not surprising that the Partnership has developed its own culture and means for using standards, assessments and core learnings—in some ways influencing the state, rather than the state influencing it. Such a complex set of ideas took over a decade to create. The Partnership, built on strong personal and professional relationships, exemplifies the time it takes, and how individual and organizational learning interact and help shape not only school cultures,

but also a collaborative culture (the Partnership) to support the schools in efforts to make lasting changes. In this case, the standards provide not a mandate, but a template for deepening understanding and building knowledge at the local level, provisions for schools to focus their efforts within the Partnership, and professional development strategies to support the school and district efforts.

SCHOOL-BASED REFORM STRATEGIES: VIEWS FROM PRACTICE

Most knowledge about school-based reform strategies comes from in-depth case studies in a variety of settings (e.g. Ancess, 1997; Lieberman, 1995, 1996; Murphy & Hallinger, 1993; Snyder et al., 1992). Many of these cases teach us lessons about how school-based strategies find ways to integrate teacher learning with new practices, new relationships, new structures and eventually a new culture—or fail to do so, thus supporting the teachers' epithet that 'if you ignore it, it will go away' (Lieberman, 1995).

Seaside Elementary School shows graphically the knowledge demands that are placed on schools as they embrace the reform agenda of the 1990s. But it also shows the developmental process of teachers' learning and the consequent process of how a professional community takes shape, facilitated by a principal with strong values of equity and community. The Seaside School, an ethnically diverse elementary school of 700 students in pre-Kindergarten to grade 5, is located near a major university and large urban city in the western United States. Although the small city of Seaside has grown affluent in the past two decades, this school is clearly on the 'wrong side of the tracks'. In the early 1990s, staff were engaged in looking for more promising practices for economically disadvantaged students who were having difficulty learning to read. Reading Recovery, a new programme aimed at increasing literacy in young children, was piloted at Seaside.

Using data publicly to discuss students was new for teachers and threatening to their private ways of working and assessing students. But eventually first-grade teachers became adept at using the running record and they began to discuss their own classroom data at grade-level meetings. Subsequently, the school applied for a state grant, and became one of a number of schools given an opportunity to 'restructure' curriculum, instruction, assessment and the very structure of the school. As part of the new grant, the school adopted 'essential questions' that gave focus to its efforts to improve. Eventually the school learned to use a 'protocol process' which provided a framework for teachers to share what they were learning.

This 'cycle of inquiry' process and 'essential questions', decided upon each year by the faculty, eventually became the foundation of the school's restructuring efforts. But invisible to most outsiders were the amount of time it took to shape these processes, the continuous negotiations with the teachers' union, the new knowledge that teachers had to learn (how to collect data, review them to change their practices, etc.), the new structures to support this new way of working (grade-level teams and team leaders with serious leadership responsibility) and the new understandings involved in becoming colleagues. The entry point for this school was how to ensure

that all students became literate. The process for work became the 'cycle of inquiry' and using data as a teaching and learning tool to improve practice while keeping the school focused on 'essential questions'.

Most important of all, teachers' learning was dramatically shifted from being solo, isolated, mostly intuitive, primarily teacher-centred to being data-driven, student-centred, collaborative and accountability-based. Leadership was dispersed to team leaders and other teachers who showed themselves to have expertise (i.e. technology, testing, reading, etc.) and the school struggled not only with difficult problems of literacy and numeracy, but also with major issues concerning race, ethnicity, and learning styles in serious and sustained inquiry (Stokes, 1998). These struggles have paid off in terms of student outcomes. Not only are student achievement measures higher overall, but also the differences between students from different ethnic groups have been significantly reduced as a result of this school-level inquiry into the connections between practice and student learning. In this case, a school-based strategy focused teachers on literacy. Professional development involved the use of tools that helped teachers learn to use data to enhance their teaching while they developed their own standards for what students should know and be able to do in their school. All three strategies aimed in the same direction, but the work was developed locally.

DEVELOPMENT-BASED STRATEGIES: VIEWS FROM PRACTICE

In the United States many reform coalitions, partnerships and networks have formed around frameworks for change (such as the Coalition of Essential Schools, the Accelerated School Project and the School Development Program), while others have focused their efforts on creating new forms and formats for teacher learning concentrating on particular subjects or pedagogical strategies.

The National Writing Project (NWP) stresses teachers teaching teachers and was started twenty years ago by Jim Gray, a professor at the University of California at Berkeley. His idea was to provide a way to dignify teachers' knowledge by having them teach one another the strategies they use in their classroom. Since he was a teacher of literature and English, his concern was that teachers needed to experience being writers themselves so that they would be more sensitive to and knowledgeable about what it was like to be a learner. Although this idea is not new, at the time the NWP began in the late 1970s, few saw teachers as expert enough to provide professional development for their peers. Twenty years later policy-makers are looking more carefully at the NWP's essential model, since it has not only endured, but also deepened, broadened and expanded. Essentially the model is the following. A university professor and a working teacher lead every NWP project. Teachers apply for a five-week summer course. Twenty are selected. At the invitational, teachers become involved in writing themselves as well as teaching one another lessons that have been successful for them, often tying these lessons to state standards. They also take turns as representatives of the group for logging the day's work (helping create a scrapbook of the invitational). Teachers write letters, narratives and poetry—and they take the 'author's chair' as they openly share their sto-

ries with their peers. The NWP model contains identifiable characteristics of a professional community (collegiality, support for learning, innovativeness and professional commitment). But it also shows a successful network that exemplifies how an external force for change continues to play a major role in providing the professional development for teachers in writing (and increasingly in reading, bilingual education and, in some places, helping with the preparation of teachers to become certified by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards).

The fact that the NWP focuses on teachers' writing (and by implication student writing) may be more significant than we realize. Writing and reading one's work aloud involve an element of risk and self-disclosure which is in direct contrast to the solo, isolated, silenced relationships that many teachers experience in their school. This central facet of the NWP's model, as well as the numerous ways in which professional community is built and linked with teachers' learning about strategies from one another, highlights what it means to be a learning teacher.

In many ways the NWP as a network combines personal and professional learning for teachers through its subject-matter orientation and its shared strategies of community, teaching and learning. While it creates rich opportunities for teachers to learn, to expand their teaching repertoire and to become members of a professional community which has high standards for its members, it suffers from a focus on network opportunities external to the school—often unrelated to the internal cultures from which these members come. Teachers learn in the community of others, but often take their 'transformative' understandings home to their isolating school cultures.

Development-based policies are highly context-dependent in terms of their ability to move benefits beyond individual teachers' classrooms, or even to sustain them within the rooms of participating teachers. The outcomes of teacher development efforts also depend on the extent to which teachers encounter comprehensive, cumulative and reinforcing learning opportunities during the course of their careers, rather than episodic and conflicting experiences that leave them with gaps, uncertainty and confusion. In addition, the outcomes of professional development depend on the extent to which teachers work in settings that allow them to incorporate what they have learned into their classroom practice. If district or school norms and structures do not support the enactment of new practices, or if evaluation and supervision practices enforce a different set of expectations for teaching, what teachers have learned in networks, courses, study groups or seminars will not take deep root—or teachers will have to spend a great amount of energy in subversive activities that set them apart from their peers.

Promising signs and persistent questions: grinding a trifocal lens

Practical experience with these three policies' tools—standards-based, school-based and development-based reforms—not surprisingly underscores the limits of each as motivation and support for teachers' professional development. Standards by themselves

can do little in the absence of opportunities for teachers' growth. School-based strategies, lacking focus and knowledge resources, fall short. Teachers' development, disconnected from the broader policy picture or from school-level community, is hard to sustain or deepen. A goal for policy is to grind trifocal lenses that focus the strengths of standards, school-level community and teacher development strategies in mutually reinforcing ways. In the Southern Maine Partnership we find promising examples of how it is possible to integrate the logics and strengths of each policy tool.

We also find in the United States' experience at the end of the 1990s a number of persistent questions and challenges that must be addressed if that trifocal lens is to be crafted, and the reform picture is to achieve coherence from teachers' perspectives. For example:

- *Insufficient knowledge resources.* Nearly all of the efforts described here struggled with the problem of inadequate resources to support teachers' learning. Teachers are unable to locate the professional development organizations or support providers they need. These knowledge resources either are not available in sufficient number or are inappropriate in substantive focus or style of working with schools and teachers. An important consideration for policy would be how to capitalize these knowledge resources, rather than continuing to foster competition among them. Knowledge resources—as much as knowledge users—should occupy the attention of educational policy-makers.
- *Teacher-generated knowledge.* Knowledge generated by teachers about their classrooms, practices and schools is an essential resource for teachers' learning and change, but is rarely recognized or legitimated by schools, districts or the larger community of professional development providers. But without this knowledge, teachers lack the perspective or 'hooks' to make effective use of externally produced (or formal) knowledge.
- *The meaning of whole school change.* As sensible as it seems to target the whole school as the site for reform, and so as the occasion for teachers' professional development, experience raises important questions about the meaning of 'whole school' in practice. Departments fracture secondary schools; faculties in nearly all schools vary significantly in expertise, motivation and engagement; and diverse student populations generate substantively diverse teacher learning demands. Is it possible to consider teachers' learning in the same way as teachers consider students' learning, blending classroom norms for learning and performance with consideration of individual style, needs and skills?
- *Looking at standards up close.* Although teachers are eager to engage in examination of student work outside their own school setting in groups such as the National Writing Project, they are often less willing to take up questions of student work in their own school context. They often resist such conversations as threatening and difficult because these school-based conversations necessarily expose teachers' professional standards to their workplace colleagues. Overcoming these fears is both essential and a challenge to strong site-based teacher learning. Can these issues be seen as both a policy and a practice problem—policies attending to the capacity of school-based educators to converse

with their peers and learn together, and practices that provide for understanding how to engage peers in strategies for improving learning in school cultures?

- *Getting to content.* A recurrent problem in school-based reforms, especially at the secondary level, is getting to content. Process reforms such as site-based decision-making can divert attention from content, or create a climate inhospitable to teachers' learning because it creates competition among them. We still know little about improving teachers' content knowledge. Is it possible to think not only of the unit of change (individual, department, team level or school), but also of approaches to content that are appropriate at school level as well?
- *Different professional development objectives.* Teachers working in reforming systems, be they school or district, often find that their individual professional development needs are different from, or even at odds with, those of their school or district. How can policy-makers and practitioners attend to the learning needs of both the individual and the setting simultaneously? Can our learning about outside networks and school/university partnerships provide a more comprehensive view of professional development as having both an inside (of the school) and an outside component?
- *Thinking in terms of the system.* Schools, districts and states send multiple signals and supports that affect teachers' willingness and ability to learn and grow. Systems are challenged to provide messages and occasions that are internally consistent and that respond to the needs of diverse teacher learners. Systems are further challenged to allocate professional development resources where they are most needed. In the United States at the end of the century, it is still generally the case that the kinds of knowledge resources and learning supports which teachers say are most effective in fostering improved teaching and learning—trifocal supports for professional development—are those least available to teachers teaching in high-poverty settings, where the needs for teacher expertise, confidence and support are the greatest.

Notes

1. This section draws on Darling-Hammond and McLaughlin (forthcoming).
2. The Southern Maine Partnership is a regional partnership of thirty school districts, two private schools and three institutions of higher education. It began by creating 'conversations' between teachers and principals on a variety of topics suggested by the schools. It has grown to be a significant force in the state of Maine, but has steadfastly stuck to its collaborative, non-prescriptive ways of working (Lieberman & Grolnick, 1996).

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PROFESSIONALISM IN TEACHING

EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND TEACHER DEVELOPMENT IN HONG KONG AND ON THE CHINESE MAINLAND

Leslie N.K. Lo

Introduction

It is widely assumed that the improvement of the quality of education depends on 'first improving the recruitment, training, social status and conditions of work of teachers', who in turn need 'the appropriate knowledge and skills, personal characteristics, professional prospects and motivation' so that they can 'meet the expectations placed upon them' (Delors et al., 1996, p. 141–2). As the implementation of compulsory schooling caused education systems and schools to embody increasingly complex forms and meanings, teachers' work became more differentiated, goal-oriented and problematic. For survival or advancement, professional development has become a necessity for those teachers who wish to make teaching their career.

Teacher development draws attention to important matters beyond teaching in the classroom. It places the professional concerns of teachers in a wider context of subject department (or panel), school and community. There is a commonly held belief that concerted and systematic efforts will enrich teachers' knowledge, refine their skill, enhance their judgement, and strengthen their contribution to their subject department, school and profession (Anderson, 1997; Glatthorn, 1994; Tatto, 1997; Verspoor, 1989).

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A biographical note about the author can be found on page 167.

Teacher development can be examined from different perspectives. For the purpose of linking teacher development to teacher education, the three approaches to teacher development proposed by Hargreaves and Fullan are pertinent (Hargreaves & Fullan, 1992, p. 1–19). With the aim of improving the teaching force, teacher development can be seen as knowledge and skill development, as self-understanding and as ecological change (Hargreaves & Fullan, 1992, p. 2). To provide teachers with the appropriate knowledge and skill is to improve their students' opportunities to learn as well as their achievement. To facilitate teachers' reflection on their personal and practical knowledge of teaching is to bring about meaningful and substantial changes in teaching behaviour. To empower teachers through the development of a genuinely collaborative school culture is to improve the conditions in the working environment which provides the context of their work. Taken together, the three approaches to teacher development should improve teachers' 'opportunities to teach', thus enhancing students' 'opportunities to learn' (Hargreaves & Fullan, 1992, p. 1).

This paper examines the impact of contextual factors on the direction of teacher development and the orientation of teacher education in two Chinese societies: the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China (hereinafter referred to as Hong Kong) and the Chinese Mainland. The policy context embodies two ongoing campaigns for 'quality education'. The scope of discussion will be defined by contextual factors emerging from society and the community, the school system, the school and the classroom. It is argued that when professional authority is weak or non-existent, reform measures are imposed on teachers in a top-down manner. In this context, conservatism in the teaching profession can be explained by the perpetuation of a work ethic that is ridden with anxiety and frustration. In the absence of a systematic and innovative approach to teacher development, teacher education is confined to the development of knowledge and skill with little effort to empower teachers through enlightenment.

Teachers and teaching in Chinese societies

Both Hong Kong and the Chinese Mainland are societies undergoing rapid changes. Hong Kong reverted to Chinese sovereignty in 1997 after over 150 years of British rule, and is still in the process of political adaptation. Societal change on the Chinese Mainland is most obvious in the economic sphere as the Mainland attempts to adopt a market model for economic growth.

In both societies, the social status of teachers is high. According to findings of research into occupational status, teachers in Hong Kong and on the Chinese Mainland ranked high among a myriad of occupations in both societies. In Hong Kong, when salaries and years of schooling were used as the main criteria for measuring status, university teachers were ranked fifth, secondary teachers thirteenth and primary school teachers twenty-fifth among 153 occupations in that society (Tsang, 1992). In Beijing, respondents (N = 1,632) in a 1983 research survey on occupational status in the capital ranked the status of university teachers third, that of secondary school teachers ninth (both groups were ranked higher than high-ranking officials,

who were tenth in ranking) and that of primary school teachers thirteenth among fifty sampled occupations (Lin & Xie, 1988).

An interesting fact about the teaching profession is that while many people hold it in high esteem, few are willing to join it. In Hong Kong, especially when the economy was flourishing, the percentage of graduates from the more prestigious higher education institutions joining the teaching profession shrank considerably. This is despite attractive entry salaries and job security. Much of this reluctance has to do with the limited opportunities for career advancement and the relatively small increment in salaries in comparison with the pay and benefit packages offered in the commercial sector. On the Chinese Mainland, teaching used to be an occupation for those who did not have the means to find attractive jobs, or for those who did not have good enough examination results to enter non-teaching specialities in institutions of higher education. In Beijing, for instance, only 3.7% of a 1994 sample of over 3,000 students in its best non-teacher preparation universities were willing to seek employment in schools, while 48.9% indicated an interest in working for commercial enterprises in partnership with foreign interests (Yang & Yan, 1997, p. 394). Flux in the market economy of the Chinese Mainland, however, has begun to affect occupational choices. Rather than shunning teaching, students are more willing to enrol in teacher education courses. In the past two years, major teachers' universities have continuously raised their admission standards to enrol applicants with better examination results.

By all recent accounts, teachers as an occupational group are doing quite well. They are perceived as important members of their community. Their salaries are comparable with, if not better than, those of other white-collar occupations. On the Chinese Mainland, where the common problem in the teaching profession was poverty, concerted efforts by the Government to raise teachers' salaries to the level of those of civil servants were enshrined in law (ZJSF, 1993; Guan, 1997). Moreover, the kind of job security that teachers in both societies enjoy appears to be particularly precious at a time of economic hardship. Their students are relatively 'tame' by Western standards. Student problems in these Chinese societies are related to academic failure, petty offences and broken families, rather than to teenage pregnancy, violent crime and substance abuse.

'Quality education' and reform of the school systems

Educational reform initiatives in Hong Kong have given its 42,000 teachers (Education Department, Statistics Section, 1997, p. 15) numerous new responsibilities to shoulder and challenges to meet. Some of the reform measures require them to meet newly established standards; others challenge them to transform their role as teachers in a school system that has implemented nine years of compulsory education for its 900,000 students.

In the 1990s, a wave of reform initiatives appeared to address a myriad of educational issues in the school system (Education Commission, 1990; Education

Department, Education and Manpower Branch, 1991; Education Commission, 1992; Education Department, 1992; Education Commission, 1996*a*; Board of Education, 1996*a*; Board of Education, 1997; Education Department, 1998). Among the reform measures, the 'school management initiative' requires more participation in the decision-making process and a more accountable administration. It also requires more assessment of achievement standards and demonstration of student progress (Education Department, Education and Manpower Branch, 1991, p. 43–7). The implementation of the 'target oriented curriculum' (Education Department, 1992), which sets a sequence of learning objectives to assess students' progress at important junctures of schooling (Grades 3, 6 and 9), entails painstaking preparation, delivery and assessment in classrooms.

By the time 'quality education' was ready for implementation (Education Commission, 1996*b*) the Hong Kong school system had become a developmental paradox embodying the co-existence of elitist and egalitarian ideas in reform endeavours, the simultaneous application of draconian and humanistic methods in education, the concomitant adoption of authoritarian and democratic styles of administration, and the delicate manipulation of bureaucratic control and professional autonomy (Lo, 1997*b*). The paradoxical nature of school reform is nowhere more obvious than in the recommendations for 'quality school education' (Education Commission, 1996*b*), which established a major source of financial support in the Quality Education Development Fund (which commands an endowment of US$645 million and supports innovative projects at the grass-roots level), on the one hand, and initiated 'quality assurance inspections' of selected schools and the mandatory application of information technology in teaching, on the other (HKSAR, 1997, p. 17–18; Education and Manpower Bureau, 1998, p. 11–13).

Noteworthy educational reform has also been initiated on the Chinese Mainland during the 1990s. Given its gigantic size and the huge number of stakeholders involved (10.1 million teachers and 200 million students), the school system of the Chinese Mainland can be understood only in terms of diversity and disparity (Ministry of Education, 1998, p. 4, 19; Hu, Wang & Kang, 1995). Nine years of compulsory schooling were implemented by stages in regions at varying levels of economic development. Vocational education was rapidly expanded to claim half of the students at senior secondary level (Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, 1985). Decentralization of administration caused local education bureaus to shoulder heavier fiscal responsibilities (Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, 1993; Lo, 1993; Pepper, 1995). Reform policies were backed up by several laws enacted to provide a legal framework for the development of school education, including the education of teachers (ZJSF, 1993).

The present school system on the Chinese Mainland is one that is characterized by decentralization, diversity and the pursuit of 'quality education'. Like their counterparts in Hong Kong, schools and teachers on the Chinese Mainland are exhorted to devote their full attention to improving the quality of school education. This would warrant a reassessment of the purpose of schooling and a subsequent expansion of its aims and dimensions of work. 'Quality education' is understood on the

Chinese Mainland as the antithesis of 'examination-oriented' education. Through its slogans, 'quality education' emphasizes the all-round development of students as persons. School education should give attention to the cognitive development and academic performance of students, as well as to their moral and political rectitude, sense of aesthetic appreciation and physical well-being.

For both Hong Kong and the Chinese Mainland, reform of the school system is initiated mainly through a top-down approach aimed at improving the quality of schooling without sacrificing bureaucratic control. Emphasis on standardization, quality assurance and efficiency in school education is an attempt to support structural reform that promises to alter the landscape of schooling. In the process of conceptualization, design and implementation of educational policies, school administrators and teachers in both societies have remained passive recipients of orders, being subservient to policy mandates from the start.

The launching of the current 'quality education' campaigns in Hong Kong and on the Chinese Mainland was due to dissatisfaction with certain important aspects of schooling. In Hong Kong, in addition to general concern about the students' declining standard of English, the quality of teachers is suspect. Doubts concerning teachers have stemmed not so much from their mastery of subject knowledge as from their low language proficiency, especially when they are required to use English as a medium of instruction. The growing speculation about the decline in teachers' language proficiency, which is purportedly linked to their students' declining standard of English, has led to official efforts to establish 'language benchmarks' for teachers at various levels of schooling. On the Chinese Mainland, where school principals and teachers have been deprived of professional authority until recently because of political mistrust, the inclination is to seek a safe haven in marks and pass rates. By setting basic requirements for qualified teachers and establishing quotas and a time-table for meeting them, the Government has hoped to improve the quality of teachers in time to support its 'quality education' campaign.

Educational change and teachers' work

At their best, policy initiatives aimed at school and teacher reform provide a focus for work and possible improvement. Clumsy implementation of reform policies, however, often leads to chaos in the schools and classrooms. In such a context, reform becomes a major distraction from the primary function of teaching.

Recent reform initiatives have changed the nature of work for the majority of teachers in Hong Kong. Teachers have to look at their jobs in a new light. The traditional functions of teachers—to propagate moral doctrines, to impart knowledge and to dispel bewilderment (*chuandao, shouye, jiehuo*)—are now only three out of many aspects of their work. The pedagogy, which seemed to be such a stable area of work, has changed its meaning to include a plethora of responsibilities. A strong impression has been created within the teaching profession that teachers work long hours, and that much of their time is being spent on duties unrelated to teaching. 'Intensification of work' (Apple, 1986; Apple & Jungck, 1992) is brought about by

work that has accompanied the reform initiatives. The consuming of their time and energy in an agonizing exercise of trial and error to accomplish tasks for which they have little knowledge actually confines teachers to the mechanisms of control that have been quickly locked into the school system.

Teachers on the Chinese Mainland have experienced a change in the nature of their work as well. The routine tasks of teaching can no longer satisfy the State's new expectations of teachers in an era of 'quality education'. The purpose of the ongoing campaign for 'quality education', as a development strategy, is to steer school education away from domination by examinations and pass rates in order to address real educational issues such as the cognitive, social and physical development of students. In the scheme of realizing 'quality education' in schools, teachers are expected to reconstruct the contents and methods of their teaching. This would entail applying subject knowledge to the lives of students, opening up the disciplinary boundaries of their subjects to nurture a more comprehensive understanding of the world, and designing new ways of assessing learning outcomes (State Education Commission, 1997, p. 326–7).

JOB-RELATED SATISFACTION AND FRUSTRATION

In the school milieus of both societies, the sources of teachers' job-related satisfaction and frustration differ considerably. On the Chinese Mainland, where job satisfaction is derived from good human relations, appropriate application of teachers' knowledge and skill in subject teaching, a sense of authority over students, positive learning outcomes of students, fair assessment of their performance and recognition of their personal achievements, and teachers' relationships with students and colleagues are often considered to be the most important factors (Gao, 1998; Gu, 1991, p. 102–3; Liu, 1997, p. 88; Tao & Zhao, 1994, p. 233; Zhao, 1998). Likewise, in Hong Kong, teachers value their relationships with their colleagues, as well as prestige in the community, job security, freedom to make decisions in the classroom and a sense of authority over students (Brown, 1997, p. 104–5). As far as the main source of frustration is concerned, teachers on the Chinese Mainland are constantly worried about their meagre salaries, while their counterparts in Hong Kong experience intensification of work but feel unappreciated in that work (Lo et al., 1997*a*).

With the devolution of administrative and financial responsibilities to the localities, teachers' salaries and working conditions vary increasingly among geographical regions and between urban and rural areas on the Chinese Mainland. Teachers normally have to subsidize their income through such means as part-time employment, allowances for extra teaching duties and bonuses distributed by schools with profitable business ventures. For a long time, teachers' meagre income has deterred people from joining the teaching profession. Even with the confirmation of a national salary standard, and the concomitant improvement of their salaries, teachers do not feel that their income has reached a respectable level by today's standard of living. For instance, in a recent survey conducted in the city of Nanjing on teachers' perception of their income, 88.7% of respondents from primary and secondary schools

considered their salaries to be below the median income, and 83.6% of them were dissatisfied with their income (Liu, 1997, p. 38–9). For the teachers, the present rate of increase in their salaries could hardly compensate for subsistence in a context of continual inflation and a rising cost of living which caused diminishing real income (Liu, 1997, p. 39; Cheng, 1996, p. 38). For those who are recruited by local communities as 'people-managed' (*minban*) teachers to supplement the teaching force in poorer rural areas—there were over two million of this type of teacher in 1996—their salaries are considered to be the lowest possible among serving teachers (Ma & Xu, 1996). The national standard for teachers' salaries would have little impact on their meagre income if government policy to incorporate them into the mainstream of the teaching force is not adhered to (Liu, 1996, p. 206). Dissatisfaction with salaries and with poor working conditions has caused serious teacher wastage on the Chinese Mainland.

Despite laws and regulations, teachers in some poorly managed localities have to suffer non-payment of their salaries or a delay in payment. This involves complex issues of responsibility, accountability and management. An ill-defined chain of command in financial matters, lack of accountability in the allocation of public funds or even inter-departmental disagreement over financial responsibilities in educational matters may cause teachers to experience a delay in obtaining what is due them (Li, 1996, p. 180; Liu, 1996, p. 206–7).

In Hong Kong, the standard of teachers' salaries compares favourably with that in most countries in the world, but teachers have to work hard to earn good salaries. The teaching load is, on average, thirty periods in a five-day school week or a six-day school cycle (Education Department, Statistics Section, 1997, p. 70, 109). The majority of teachers have to serve as class teachers, members of subject panels, and members of such functional groups as those for student guidance, student discipline, extra-curricular activities, school management and information technology. According to one account, while teaching is the most preferred of activities among teachers in secondary schools (N = 1,133), the majority of teachers have to carry out three or more non-teaching duties in their schools (Tai & Cheng, 1994, p. 80).

Another major source of job dissatisfaction among teachers in Hong Kong is a commonly shared feeling that their efforts in school are not being recognized, especially when compared with those of people working in other professions with the same qualifications. From the results of an investigation into teachers' attitude towards work (N = 1,500), it was found that teachers felt that they are not well paid, that their promotion prospects are restricted and that their role in assessment and appraisal of their own performance is very limited. This kind of dissatisfaction is stronger among teachers working in 'low ability schools', where the academic performance of students is significantly lower (Lo et al., 1997*a*, p. 214, 217).

A further source of job dissatisfaction is the perceived lack of understanding of teachers' pedagogical needs on the part of school administrators. The findings of research into the effectiveness of Hong Kong's secondary schools (N = 50) suggest that school principals and teachers have different views on 'instructional leadership' in

schools. While teachers hope that their principals could do more to uphold academic standards, principals think that they should encourage teachers to participate more in decision-making (Lo et al., 1997*a*, p. 105–6). It is clear that principals and teachers have their own ideas about what constitutes good 'instructional leadership'.

Given the job-related frustrations, it is surprising that the wastage rates of teachers in Hong Kong and on the Chinese Mainland are not higher. In Hong Kong, the overall rate has been approximately 9% (Education Department, Statistics Section, 1997, p. 88, 150), while the rate on the Chinese Mainland has been around 4.5% (State Education Commission, 1995). A substantial number of those who left the teaching profession, among whom are people with many years of experience (Wong & Li, 1995, p. 41–2, 44), have sought other types of employment. Long working hours, poor working conditions and teaching of subjects that are irrelevant to preparation (Lo & Lee, 1996) are 'push' factors that have caused teachers to leave the profession (Cheng, 1996, p. 37).

Teaching in segregated systems

For most teachers, teaching in the classroom is considered to be their most important function. It is in the context of the classroom that they can have a certain degree of freedom to interpret the content of knowledge, guide their students through learning tasks, arouse the minds of the talented, dispel the bewilderment of those with learning difficulties and enjoy the fruit of their work.

In Hong Kong and on the Chinese Mainland, classroom teaching is conducted in the shadow of tests and examinations. Moreover, the quality of teaching and learning in both systems is further undermined by the structural problem of segregation in terms of academic achievement among students and schools.

In Hong Kong, where most of the schools are supported by public funds and where most students are assigned to schools situated in their districts of residence, disparity in educational opportunities is caused by the socio-economic status of parents, the quality of neighbourhoods, the prestige of the school and the perceived educational outcome for school graduates. Structural segregation of schools is most evident in the secondary sector, where schools are separated into five 'bands', each band of schools enrolling about 20% of students that constitute a hierarchy of academic abilities.

The claim that the Hong Kong school system is highly segregated is supported by empirical evidence. In a large-scale research project on the effectiveness of secondary schools (school N = 50; student N = 30,000), it was found that the gap between the academic achievement of students in the academically strongest and weakest schools has become wider (Lo et al., 1997*a*). As far as academic achievement is concerned, the ability segregation among students is significantly higher than in similar analyses of segregation in such societies as Canada, Singapore, the United Kingdom and the United States (Tsang, 1997, p. 22–3; Ho & Willms, 1996).

When the Hong Kong school system is highly segregated, and there are no concerted efforts to use measures of positive discrimination to rectify the situation,

teachers in the lower 'band' schools that enrol academic low achievers are confronted by problems of widespread lethargy, anxiety, low self-esteem and disruptive behaviour. The findings of the research project mentioned above indicate that they use about a quarter of class time to deal with disorderly behaviour and to translate English vocabulary into Chinese for their students. In addition, they experience a sense of powerlessness in work and disillusionment with work, and are incompetent teachers (Lo et al., 1997*a*, Ch. 6).

Structural segregation in the school system on the Chinese Mainland is also based on the academic achievement of students in schools. Disparities in educational opportunities are explained by the level of economic development of the geographical regions in which schools are situated, the quality of residential areas, family background and the prestige of the schools. Moreover, the vast range of school qualities—from schools with world-class facilities and students to those housed in condemned buildings with the most disadvantaged students—reflects the developmental gap among the geographical regions of China. In the school system, the best schools are designated as 'key' schools, and the quality of the rest of the schools is determined by the quality of the residential districts in which they are located.

Disparities between the educational quality of schools in the urban areas and those in rural areas, and between 'key' schools and ordinary schools, are well illustrated by a study on student achievement in the city of Shanghai, which has jurisdiction over several rural counties. The test results of final-year students obtained at two junctures of the nine-year compulsory education period (6th grade N = 1,317; 9th grade N = 1,345) indicate a consistent and significant difference between the academic achievement of students in the cities and the countryside, and between students in the 'key' schools and ordinary schools (Xie & Tan, 1997, p. 100). The results confirmed a popular belief that urban schools are academically superior to rural schools, and that students in the 'key' schools (mostly urban schools) have a much better chance of academic advancement.

Nine years of compulsory education have changed the composition of the student population on the Chinese Mainland. The schools have changed because they have to enrol many students who would not have been there if compulsory schooling had not been implemented. There are many students who do not see the utility of schooling in the world of trade and commerce to which they aspire. There are more who cannot catch up and who therefore fail. In the shadow of compulsory education, teachers have to adjust their expectations of students and their approach to teaching lest they become ineffective. Their most important adjustment in teaching is to accommodate their teaching strategies to the limitations of their students. Perhaps it is due to the teachers' inability to adjust their teaching approach to students' needs that the Government had to issue directives on lightening the study load of students, defining the appropriate lengths of time that students should spend on homework and forbidding the extension of formal lessons into extra-curricular activities (see, for example, State Education Commission, 1994; State Education Commission, 1997).

The perceived conservatism of teachers on the Chinese Mainland may be traced to a hidden suspicion of the efficacy of new or unconventional methods of teaching. After all, the focus of their teacher training courses was on the teacher and textbooks (Chen, 1994, p. 273). To discard tried methods which emphasize the acquisition of factual knowledge for untested methods which favour exploration of ideas is to jeopardize the success of students in examinations. Since examination results are still the only criterion for promotion to the next level of schooling, teachers naturally treat them with great care. When the assessment of teachers' performance is based on their students' examination results, the dominance of examinations in curriculum implementation and teaching seems inevitable.

The above depiction of teachers' beliefs and pedagogical assumptions in both societies should provide insights into the way they teach. A clearly discernible phenomenon is that while compulsory education has brought about organic changes in the schools, teachers seem reluctant to adjust their pedagogical methods in the classrooms. Consequently, teaching and learning in the classrooms have been characterized by futility and frustration. The inability of teachers to accommodate the needs of the changing classrooms has led to a widespread suspicion about the efficacy of teacher education.

Teacher education at the crossroads

There is a common assumption in both societies that teacher education in its varying forms is a panacea for teacher development. Teacher education in Hong Kong and on the Chinese Mainland functions to satisfy the requirements of policy, to remedy professional deficiencies, and to fill the gap in the knowledge and skill that are required for specific tasks.

Not all teachers on the Chinese Mainland and in Hong Kong are professionally trained. In 1995, percentages of 'qualified' teachers for the primary, junior secondary and senior secondary schools on the Chinese Mainland were 88.9%, 69.1% and 55.2% respectively (Liu, 1996). In 1996, the percentage of teachers in Hong Kong who had received training[1] was 84% in the primary schools, and 76% in the secondary schools (Education Department, Statistics Section, 1997, p. 18, 20). The Chinese Government has anticipated a further increase in the number of qualified teachers (*Renmin ribao*, 11 April 1997). Official plans in Hong Kong aim to require all new teachers to be degree holders with formal training (HKSAR, 1997, p. 30).

In Hong Kong, policy initiatives in the provision of trained graduate teachers for the schools have prompted the emergence of a variety of training programmes. A number of Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) programmes offered by overseas institutions have been put under professional scrutiny, accumulating to a list of overseas programmes of allegedly dubious quality. However, doubtful quality is not confined to overseas programmes. A local B.Ed. programme for in-service teachers, for instance, was admonished for its loose recognition of students' past efforts in connection with its graduation requirements. A local postgraduate teacher training programme was told by an accreditation panel that it had yet to meet accept-

able standards after it had gone ahead with enrolling students without proper accreditation.

On the Chinese Mainland, the main concern of the teaching profession has also been to secure a respectable percentage of teachers with appropriate qualifications. Through the promulgation of policies (Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, 1993) and the enactment of legislation (ZJSF, 1993; Pepper, 1995) the Government imposed national standards for teacher qualifications at each level of schooling.[2]

The perpetual shortage of qualified teachers on the Chinese Mainland can be attributed to a 'closed' system of teacher education that designates teacher training institutions as the sole producer of teachers. This 'monopoly' of teacher training institutions raises concern about the quality of their graduates, who may not be the best and most suitable candidates for teaching. In recent year, the 'closed' system of teacher education has come in for severe criticism. Ways to change the present system of teacher education are being explored (Chen, 1994, p. 388–90). Chief among them is the involvement of comprehensive universities in teacher education. Advocates of this idea reasoned that allowing graduates of comprehensive universities to join the teaching profession would at least ensure that teachers had a firmer grasp of subject content knowledge.

In varying degrees, teacher education in Hong Kong and on the Chinese Mainland has a number of common concerns. Teacher education in both societies is seen as an instrument to produce qualified teachers, and both societies are very conscious of matters related to teacher qualifications. Its major concern is the development of teachers' knowledge and skill. At the policy level, neither Hong Kong nor the Chinese Mainland has paid much attention to the strategic position of teacher education in the larger scheme of teacher development and in the implementation of 'quality education'. In Hong Kong, the tendency is to increase the number of trained graduate teachers at the most rapid pace possible without understanding how different kinds of teacher education programmes are designed to meet specifically defined needs. On the Chinese Mainland, the 'closed' system of teacher education will be tolerated as long as it can meet the official targets for qualified teachers. Given the present orientation, there is little room in teacher education for innovative approaches to emerge.

The irony of teacher education in Hong Kong and on the Chinese Mainland is that while qualifications are its prime concern, there is a conspicuous absence of effort to ensure that teachers will be receiving further education of good quality. In Hong Kong, a great variety of training courses that do not lead to the award of any formal qualifications are either operated by the Government or contracted to parties which offer the lowest cost estimates for operating such courses. There is no mechanism to assess student performance in these courses, no concerted effort to ensure quality, and no systematic consolidation of these training courses into programmes that offer appropriate qualifications to deserving teachers. On the Chinese Mainland, continuing education programmes for teachers are operated mainly by the colleges of education. These colleges offer training for basic qualifications required by

the State but do not necessarily operate any formal degree programmes. As the major course provider of continuing education for teachers, they are ironically being given an important role in the training of graduate teachers. It is hard to imagine that these colleges, without the appropriate human resources, could effectively provide training for teachers who have higher academic qualifications than their own lecturers.

Concluding remarks

In theory, the campaigns for 'quality education' in Hong Kong and on the Chinese Mainland offer a good opportunity for teacher development because they warrant a change in the beliefs and practices of educating and teaching. As a plan for school reform, however, 'quality education' was imposed on the schools and their teachers. From conceptualization to action, the schools and teachers have remained passive recipients of official announcements and directives. The campaigns for 'quality education', which are purportedly designed to free teachers and students from the bondage of tests and examinations, have in fact imposed more control on teachers.

Control in educational reform may be manifested in different ways, but teachers in both societies can easily feel its ubiquitous presence in the 'quality education' campaigns. The increase in control over teachers stems from dissatisfaction with certain aspects of schooling that may be linked to the teachers. The assumption is that poor learning outcomes are related to certain deficiencies in the knowledge, skills or qualities of teachers. This 'deficit' view about teachers and teaching does not help teachers to work effectively in school systems that are burdened by ability segregation. On the contrary, it puts more pressure on teachers who are struggling to find an appropriate pedagogical approach for the compulsory classroom.

In both societies, teachers have remained conservative in their approach to teaching. Their prime concern is the academic performance of students. Teachers' conservatism in teaching can be explained by the perpetuation of a paradigm of teaching that is ingrained in teachers' work. In a sense, the routine of teaching, and the socio-historical assumptions about teaching and work—class schedule, subject-based curriculum, and paper-and-pencil testing (Hargreaves, 1995, p. 83)—have come to define that paradigm. When uncertainties descend on the context of teaching, the routine and the well-defined parameters set by textbooks, instruction, tests and examinations become a safe haven for most teachers.

Teachers' conservatism also illuminates the problems of teacher education programmes that are mainly concerned with training and qualifications. In Hong Kong and on the Chinese Mainland, the strong emphasis on the development of knowledge and skill reflects a narrow understanding of teacher development. Moreover, it does little to empower teachers through enlightenment. The fallacy of teacher education is further illustrated by the problems in the operation of continuing education programmes in both societies.

The foregoing discussion provides a grey depiction of teacher development and teacher education in Hong Kong and on the Chinese Mainland. The intention here

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is to draw attention to the limitations of educational reform and to point out that the development of teachers is frequently impeded by false assumptions about their teaching and work. For a new professionalism in teaching to emerge, teachers in Hong Kong and on the Chinese Mainland may wish to study their own professional existence and devise strategies of empowerment that can be realized only through their own efforts. That teachers in Hong Kong still find meaning in their work and support from their colleagues is an empirical fact, and should serve as a great source of strength. That the decentralization of educational administration on the Chinese Mainland has afforded more flexibility for new ideas to grow and innovations to appear is a real phenomenon that can encourage professional growth. A sense of purpose, collegiality and room for growth are perhaps the three basic ingredients for a new professionalism in these two Chinese societies. For teacher development to transcend its present orientation towards technical competence and compulsion, teachers will have to work within their classrooms, subject departments and schools in order to define their own autonomy and collegiality.

Notes

1. Teacher education in Hong Kong leads mainly to three types of qualifications for teachers in the schools. The majority of teachers in the primary schools (84%) are certificate holders who graduated from various non-degree programmes at the former colleges of education, now consolidated into an institute of education. Graduate teachers in the primary schools are those who have graduated from Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) degree programmes operated by local and overseas institutions through a variety of means. In the secondary schools, 70% of teachers are graduate teachers who typically received their degrees from higher education institutions in Hong Kong and abroad. Local universities award their teaching qualifications—the Postgraduate Diploma or Certificate of Education (PGDE/PGCE). The degree plus PGDE mode allows secondary school teachers to have a full course of study in an academic discipline and teacher training. Since the number of B.Ed courses increased, there are now graduate teachers in secondary schools who have chosen that route of preparation. The non-graduate teachers in the secondary schools are typically certificate holders.
2. Completion of the secondary teacher training course offered by normal schools is the basic requirement for primary school teachers; completion of the post-secondary teacher training course offered by 'specialized colleges' is required of junior secondary teachers; and completion of the teacher training degree programme offered by normal universities is required of senior secondary teachers (ZJSF, 1993, p. 8).

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PROFESSIONALISM IN TEACHING

FROM AGENTS OF REFORM TO SUBJECTS OF CHANGE: THE TEACHING CROSSROADS IN LATIN AMERICA

Rosa María Torres

Introduction

The need for 'educational change' has been acknowledged for the same length of time as the 'key role' of teachers[1] in such change. Nevertheless, as studies and empirical observation have shown, several decades of educational *reform* have yielded dubious results in terms of actual educational *change*.[2] Old attitudes to education, teaching and learning die hard. Much of the explanation undoubtedly lies in the relative lack of attention paid to the second variable in the equation: the 'key role' of teachers in such change.

The 'teacher challenge' receives a statutory mention in every report on education and has continually been recognized as the weakest point in successive attempts at reform. Even the most sophisticated reform proposals ignore what should by now be glaringly obvious: to change education it is necessary to work *with* teachers and not *against* them or behind their backs, accepting them not only as agents of reform but also as allies and subjects of change. There can be no educational quality without teacher quality; without teacher professional autonomy, there can be no school autonomy.

Original language: Spanish

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The 'new teacher role' and the 'new school model' advocated by modern reforms imply professional teachers—that is, teachers who are well paid and well trained, have the ability and desire to continue learning, are motivated and proud of their task and are accountable for it to pupils, parents and society. Such professionalism assumes special importance in the light of the processes of decentralization and school autonomy that gathered momentum in the 1990s. School autonomy without teacher professional autonomy is an absurdity and a sure path to making poor quality and inequity in school systems worse—something directly contrary to the professed aims of current educational policies.

Teachers at this turn of the millennium are impoverished and have lower prestige, respect and status than they did fifty years ago. Yet they confront a much more complex, demanding and closely monitored task than then. Their working conditions have deteriorated, and their training[3] lacks the impetus and conditions for the great leap forward that is needed. Many teachers have abandoned the profession in recent years, driven out by a school system that is unable to motivate and retain them. The recruitment of para-professional teachers—possessing little or no training, representing cheap labour and willing to put up with inferior working conditions—has become a regular feature of school systems in many developing countries and particularly in Latin America. An enormous gap exists between the teacher required for the twenty-first century and the teacher available at the end of the twentieth. It is therefore high time to invest in teachers, not only on grounds of equity, but because they constitute a critical factor in any human development strategy.

Policies designed to improve the situation and training of teachers launched in the latest wave of educational reforms are a long way from dealing with the magnitude, complexity and urgency of the problem, not only vis-à-vis the classroom or the school, but also the actual governance of school systems. The mismatch between educational reforms and teachers, and between education ministries and teachers' organizations, has become the norm in the region and has led to open and sustained confrontation in the majority of countries.[4]

Educational reform and teachers

TRADITIONAL REFORM: TEACHER-PROOF REFORM

Educational reform in Latin America has traditionally displayed a series of more or less recognizable characteristics: 'outside-in', 'top-down', elitist, technocratic, homogenizing, sectoral and school-based, partial, lacking a holistic view, sporadic, incomplete. A perennial feature has been the neglect and continual postponement of the teacher question and the lack of participation of teachers in drawing up the content and strategies of reforms (Villegas-Reimers & Reimers, 1996; Torres, 1996*a*, 1996*b*, 1997, 1999*b*, 1999*c*).

Traditional reform has consisted of the following:

- investing in *things* (infrastructure, equipment, textbooks, educational technology) before investment in *people* (including teacher training and job satisfaction);

- a marked dualism regarding the teacher question: teachers are valued in theory and neglected and distrusted in practice; teachers are regarded as the culprits mainly responsible for the 'deterioration' in educational quality and simultaneously as the main saviours responsible for the 'improvement' in that quality; teachers are seen both as an obstacle to, and as protagonists of, educational change—and so forth;
- regarding teachers as reform implementers, ignoring the viewpoints and wishes of those who are required to carry out changes, first of all by accepting change in themselves;
- a vision of teacher training as: a requirement for (the implementation of) reform rather than for (the professional development of) teachers; in other words, training viewed as an *ad hoc* means to an end, with no connection between initial and in-service training; an activity which is actually carried out and even planned when the reform package is ready and even already underway; a corrective and rehabilitating activity representing a perennial challenge to teachers' knowledge, its validity and its legitimacy;
- partial policies and measures rather than a comprehensive approach (to salaries, working conditions, training, teaching career, respect and social status) capable of correcting the 'teacher problem' and finding the right rungs for teachers on the professional and social ladder, according to the qualifications and duties required by the reforms.

These and other weaknesses have been recognized in the past, generally after the event, even by those who were in the forefront of the reform processes, but the lesson has obviously not been learned.[5] It is clear, in any case, that the problem is not due to a lack of information or knowledge, but involves factors that are directly political, ideological and financial.

EDUCATIONAL AND TEACHING REFORMS IN THE 1990S

The educational reforms of the 1990s, especially in Larin America, were characterized by (Torres, 1999*b*, 1999*c*, 2000*b*):

- *Priority for basic education* in accordance with the international commitments undertaken at the World Conference on Education for All, Jomtien, 1990. Nevertheless, the 'expanded vision' of basic education proposed at Jomtien—meeting the basic learning needs of children, young people and adults in and out of school—was not realized; basic education was equated with child, school and primary education, and the number of years of compulsory schooling was increased (in the majority of countries three years were added to primary education, which usually lasted six or seven years).
- *Quality and equity as reform objectives.* The version of quality imposed on schools associates quality with efficiency and educational achievement. It was acknowledged that equity refers not only to access but also to quality, and that educational supply must be diversified and adapted to different groups if the aim is to achieve uniform learning results. Focusing on poverty as well as com-

pensatory, positive-discrimination programmes for the poorest economic sectors became widespread, including school-welfare policies (food, health, etc.) to alleviate the effects of poverty on schooling and learning.

- *Decentralization and autonomy of schools* as core themes of educational reform, and the promotion of school projects. The direction, quality and level of the processes of decentralization and of granting autonomy varied greatly in different countries, with emphasis on the administrative aspects and little attention to strengthening the professional autonomy of teachers.
- *Greater involvement of parents and the community in schools* ('community participation', 'school-community management', etc.) with two main objectives: greater financial contribution by the local community; and greater control by the latter over the school and over teachers in particular. The functions of these community bodies include dealing with such varied questions as the purchase of supplies, the election of headteachers, monitoring of teacher attendance, the payment of salaries and decisions about incentives, and participation in institutional educational planning.
- *Priority for the administrative aspects of reform* (in the broader context of administrative reform of the State and of the new public management model) at both central and intermediate level and at school level. Administrative reform was perceived as the point of entry and the condition for reform in other areas (e.g. the curriculum and teaching). The concept of 'management' at the various levels was basically associated with the administrative sphere, and 'training for management' with the development of managerial skills.
- *Curriculum reforms aimed at developing competencies* (knowledge and know-how), values education and 'learning to learn', with certain fairly general characteristics: organization of the curriculum into areas; inclusion of new areas or subjects (e.g. technological education and foreign languages as part of the basic education curriculum); 'transverse' themes occupying a central place in curriculum design; and constructivism—in different interpretations and variants—as the leading epistemological and pedagogical trend.
- *Evaluation of results and accountability* by the school and the school system to parents and society. Under this scheme, impetus was given to the evaluation of school performance by means of standardized tests (especially in two critical areas: language and mathematics) and to the introduction of national evaluation systems, as well as public-information mechanisms in certain countries.
- *Increase in instruction time* as a key variable in the improvement of education: more years of study (extension of compulsory schooling); more class days per year (taking as a yardstick the number of study days in industrialized countries); more time spent at school per day (there was a trend towards a return to the full school day); and more study time at home (homework).
- *Provision of school textbooks* and promotion of self-instructional materials.
- *Encouragement of modern technologies* to be employed as teaching resources and as a complement to, or substitute for, the task of the teacher; promotion of distance learning both for school instruction and for teacher training.

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- *Strengthening of intercultural bilingual education and of interculturality* as a special approach in the context of greater attention to, and visibility of, education for indigenous populations.

As regards teachers, the 'teacher problem' became important as a topic of study and public debate. There was increased talk of the upgrading, professionalization, autonomy and importance of teachers. With this in mind, measures were implemented on a number of fronts, to varying degrees and with varying quality, including:

- *Salary increases and improvements* in the majority of countries, supplemented by incentive schemes based on performance and merit.[6]
- *Promotion of in-service teacher training* (generally disconnected from initial training) for the implementation of reform and with the help of distance-learning arrangements. Large-scale strategies and decentralized or 'outsourced' schemes (selling of services by universities, NGOs, private firms, etc.) were adopted. A tendency emerged resulting in the organizing of two different training tracks, one for headteachers and supervisors (devoted mainly to administration and school management) and the other for class teachers (with an emphasis on pedagogical and curricular aspects). Reform of initial teacher training is still pending.
- *Evaluation of teaching performance*, basically through assessment of the pupils' school performance, and promotion of a performance-related salary and incentive policy.
- *Promotion of horizontal opportunities and mechanisms* for learning, work and co-operation between teachers (meeting-places, networks, etc.).

Regarding reform strategies:

- *State rather than governmental policies.* A feature of the 1990s reforms was, in general, their greater sustainability over time. Several reform processes survived more than one period of government and were even accepted by governments of different political hues. In certain cases, this led to something previously unheard of in educational reforms, namely the possibility of documenting, learning and even correcting along the way.
- *Large-scale, comprehensive and gradual reform.* Following criticism of the inorganic and asystemic nature of 'traditional reform', several reforms during the 1990s were planned as comprehensive reforms (reconciling quantity with quality, taking account of both educational supply and demand, paying attention to the various components—administrative, curricular, pedagogical, regulatory and organizational—and promoting intersectorality).[7] Likewise, criticism of 'pilot projects' and their failure in the past led both governments and international agencies to prefer large-scale reform strategies on a 'learn as you go, basis rather than through experimentation.
- *Promotion and dissemination of innovations* as part of reform and of the State's role. International agencies played an active part in identifying and disseminating 'successful experiences' and 'best practices' in an attempt to provide practical reference models for policy formulation and action.

- *Consultation and the search for agreements for policy validation,* in the majority of countries, with the participation of a range of partners, including the business community, NGOs and the religious authorities. The business community emerged as an important 'new player' and as a key partner in educational reform with a strong streak of philanthropy ('responsible' or 'civic-minded' enterprises) towards education. Teachers remained as secondary actors around the negotiation table—or were merely observers. This became a source of widespread reproach by teachers at both trade-union and classroom level. The mechanisms and strategies adopted for consultation varied, as also did the degrees of success, legitimacy and consistency of the agreements over time.

MISMATCH BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND TEACHERS

The mismatch between reform and teachers—a chronic feature of the history of educational reform in Latin America—intensified in the 1990s. The reasons for the teaching malaise are many and various, and relate not only to education policy but also to the economic and political situation and the broader national, regional and global context. Certain aspects of the malaise are directly related to the educational reform process, not only to its content and the inflated agenda of proposed changes but especially to the way in which it is designed, presented and implemented.

In a region with a strong tradition of teachers' trade unions, decentralization processes have involved—and were even expressly designed for—the breaking of trade-union power, to which the teaching organizations have offered predictable resistance. This has taken place within the context of organized national and regional criticism and opposition to the neo-liberal economic model and its salient manifestations in the region, namely the rolling back of the State, privatization, labour flexibility, increased poverty, unemployment, injustice and social exclusion.[8]

Teachers in various countries have expressed similar dissatisfactions, anxieties and fears, and they no longer relate only to salaries—the traditional source of discontent and protest. There is a loss of the sense of direction with regard to their role and that of the school. At school level, there is a feeling of confusion, disorder and chaos. What is seen from 'above' as a *gradual* strategy of change is perceived from 'below' as 'too many changes at the same time'. What is seen 'above' as a comprehensive and holistic—even if planned and executed separately in different departments (administration, curriculum, teacher training, textbooks, etc.) and even in separate ministerial or paraministerial units[9]—is seen often, at the school level, as a puzzle with pieces which do not fit or are missing. The resulting fragmentation of national education policy is encouraged and aggravated by fragmentation and lack of co-ordination between international agencies, whose agendas often overlap and even conflict (Coraggio & Torres, 1997; Gajardo & de Andraca, 1997; Torres, 1999*b*, 1999*c*, 2000*b*).[10]

Certain reform topics and measures in the 1990s have been perceived by teachers as particularly disruptive and threatening: (a) the incorporation of modern technology, especially computers, often without teachers being given the necessary train-

ing or even information, thus increasing the generation gap between teachers and pupils, and nurturing the fear that both teachers and the school system can be dispensed with; (b) schemes for community participation in, and management of, schools—1990s version—which are perceived by teachers as just one more aspect of the trend towards privatization evident in neo-liberal policies; (c) the move towards the evaluation of teaching performance (basically through assessment of the pupils' academic achievements) and towards performance-linked incentives;[11] (d) the increasing importance ascribed to the time variable, which constitutes a critical factor and a battlefield owing both to increases in it (extended school timetable, full school day, cuts in holiday and recreation time, additional training or team-work requirements, etc., often without any change in the teacher's work contract) and to an accelerated pace (clash between the urgency of the reformers and the non-urgency of teachers and of the school); and (e) insistence on matters such as the 'emphasis on learning' or the 'new role' of the teacher as a 'learning facilitator'—in the absence of further elaboration and explanation of these slogans, they tend to be interpreted by teachers as a 'de-emphasis on teaching', the tomb of pedagogy and the disappearance of the teacher's role (Torres, 1999*b*, 1999*c*).[12]

The defensive tendencies of teachers and even their defence of the old educational model have thus become stronger. Aspects of the old school culture that were in the past questioned by these very same teachers, such as centralization, bureaucratization and lack of autonomy, are now counted as 'losses' at both the personal and professional level. The new scenarios (decentralization, school autonomy, encouragement of innovation and of horizontal forms of contact between teachers, performance evaluation and accountability, etc.) have taken rapid root, making it difficult for everyone—not only teachers—to regard them as possibilities or even achievements or, ultimately, as territories which must be fought over and given a meaning.

In the light of the new rules of the game, the teaching organizations have learned from past mistakes and have themselves grasped the necessity for change. This includes taking a more active and proactive role in the educational debate, in the promotion of research, in communication and dissemination, and in teacher training and self-training. In a number of countries, the teaching organizations are engaged in the (re)activation of education movements with the aim of strengthening their professional dimension and of putting forward their own educational proposals as alternatives to those of the State and to 'official' reform. The idea of an educational movement transcending the educational sphere and becoming a social movement permeates the debates and actions of a number of teaching organizations or of important sections of opinion within them.

Towards a new teaching professionalism

The idea that a professional is someone with an academic qualification has strong roots in conventional educational ideology, particularly in the teaching culture, from classroom to government department level. This idea underlies the continuous empha-

sis on formal qualifications in the provision of initial and in-service teacher training. The quality and relevance of such training and the other conditions (of work and of living) required in order to push ahead with the development of teaching as a professional activity tend to take a back seat when it comes to concerns about professionalization.[13]

In any event, the teaching skills needed to meet the demands of modern society, decentralized school systems and autonomous educational institutions entail, at the very least, a professionalism understood as theoretical and practical proficiency in a particular area of work, professional independence, and an ability to take informed decisions, to anticipate the consequences of such decisions and to critically assess the actions undertaken (Burke, 1996).

This cannot be done by taking more of the same medicine, namely the pursuit of qualifications as an end in itself or the copious provision of 'updating' or 'refresher' programmes and courses, without doing something about the other conditions (salaries, working conditions, career prospects, social status) which affect recruitment, career profiles and teachers' professional performance. Acquiring the teachers needed for the educational revolution on which the future development of our countries largely depends implies an unprecedented emphasis on, and heavy political, economic, social, individual and collective investment in, the teaching side with new parameters adapted to the new school model now taking shape.

In fact, school reform and teaching reform need each other. The school model we know (organization, time-and-space management, mainstream ideas about curricula, teaching, evaluation, etc.) is designed for, and assumes the presence of, a subservient and passive teacher, someone who is simply a channel for instruction, who hands on what he or she receives, reacts to orders and rules, performs a lifelong routine mechanical task imposed from above in the solitary confinement of a classroom or school with no contact between equals and with no right to participate or be consulted. This person receives training from time to time but depends on contributions and stimuli from outside in order to learn. This model is incompatible with school autonomy and the development of teaching as a professional activity. For—it should be remembered—professional competence is forged not only in the study, but fundamentally in the workplace and in the actual exercise of the profession.

The development of a professional teaching profile therefore implies converging actions on several fronts for which all parties in society bear responsibility. Ensuring the will, skills and conditions for teachers to carry out their role efficiently and take responsibility for it implies that both the State and society, and also the teaching organizations and individual teachers themselves, address certain challenges and tasks (see Table 1).

TOWARDS A NEW SOCIAL IMAGE OF TEACHERS AND OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION

Progress towards a new social image of teachers and their work implies first of all an individual and collective teaching performance capable of winning back the sym-

TABLE 1. Teacher professionalism: a shared responsibility

	State	Civil society	Teachers	Teachers' orgs.
Recognizing that teachers must be subjects of development and key actors in educational change.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Securing the conditions (material, organizational, cognitive, emotional, symbolic) for making teaching an attractive professional activity capable of tempting and retaining the best human resources. Prioritizing the conditions (both objective and subjective) for teachers to have access to continuing, comprehensive and high-quality education and training, both before and throughout their service.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Valuing the teacher's task as one of great complexity, great educational, ethical and social responsibility and high social productivity. Recognizing, at the same time, that this task requires the active collaboration and critical support of the other parties in the educational process. Like every professional activity, teaching requires comments, suggestions, criticisms and evaluation with respect to performance.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Restoring to the school its basic function, which is teaching and learning, democratization of knowledge, social integration and transformation, identification and development of pupils' potential, learning to learn and to enjoy learning. This is the institutional context for the practice and development of teaching as a professional activity.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Adopting a complex concept of educational management and school autonomy, linking organizational, administrative, curricular and pedagogical aspects (in decision-making, teacher training and school management). In this framework, it is essential to reinstate the centrality of pedagogy in the preparation of education policy and in social participation with regard to the educational issue.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Accepting lifelong learning as a necessity for all and a responsibility for society in its entirety.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Accepting that openness to change must be an inherent and permanent dimension of education, including change within oneself. Promoting innovation and developing the ability to innovate and manage innovations efficiently.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ensuring and requiring quality, transparency, responsibility for results and accountability at all levels—from the school to national and international education policy-making bodies.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Making a thorough commitment to education—ensuring equitable and quality education for all, centred around relevant and socially useful learning—in accordance with the place and responsibility falling to every individual in the achievement of that objective.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observing and ensuring observance of national and international agreements and commitments regarding education (objectives, aims, time limits, budgets) and specifically regarding teachers.	✓	✓	✓	✓

pathy and respect of society for those who teach, their role and their cause. Simultaneously, it also implies deliberate and coherent policies and strategies regarding information, communication, public debate, as well as education and teacher training designed to dismantle old and new stereotypes and construct a collective new image of teachers as citizens, professionals, subjects and allies of educational change for a new era and a new educational paradigm.

From teacher-obstacle to teacher-solution

In reformers' eyes, teachers are a problem, an obstacle, a headache. They constitute a large human group (the biggest sector of State employees) which uses up a very high percentage of the education budget (between 90 and 95%). Little margin is therefore left for investment in improvement and innovation, which may necessitate recourse to international loans as the only source of new money with which to renew the system. They are the main bottleneck in the promotion of educational change. The result is a vicious circle that is difficult to break: low salaries, but no possibility of improving them significantly, this representing the principal demand of the teachers' unions; low salaries that reflect and simultaneously reinforce the low social status of the profession and of the qualifications of those aspiring to join it; teacher training that is ultimately remedial in nature, given the low starting levels, and whose rejuvenation is at the mercy of trainers who themselves were formed in the old tradition and in the old system of teacher training. In short: the teacher issue is an area for which very few would see affordable and viable alternatives in the short or medium term, and in any case not in the time-frames required by the urgent need for change.

The teacher 'problem' extends to the teaching organizations, usually portrayed as corporatist (interested only in their members' wage claims, not in the general interest or in the improvement of education); politicized and ideology-led (driven by political parties and/or interests and ideologically backward); uncompromising (unwilling to take part in dialogue and negotiation); unrepresentative (the unions do not represent the views of teachers, thus making it necessary to distinguish between teachers and their organizations);[14] opposed to change (change in general and educational change in particular); and biased (they exaggerate the weaknesses and ignore the positive aspects of government policy).

The negative image of teachers and their organizations has deepened and widened in recent years. In addition to the perception of teachers as a problem, the 'educational problem' itself has ended up being dumped on the shoulders of teachers and on their immediate area of action—the school. Society (and even very largely teachers themselves) are unaware of how *systemic* the school system and education policy are, and of the responsibility which the State, society, and particularly those who plan and implement education policy at national and international level, bear for both the 'deterioration' and 'improvement' of quality.

This negative image of teachers is biased, unfair to many teachers and to the profession as a whole, and ineffective as regards the objective: to advance towards

quality education for all. *It is biased* because teachers constitute a complex and contradictory reality that makes them simultaneously victims and accomplices, part of the problem and part of the solution. *It is unfair* because of the inaccuracy of all generalizations; because the teaching situation is the outcome of decisions and policies (both active and passive) adopted over several decades; because teachers are just one brick in the school edifice and, in their turn, part of a more elaborate social structure; because teaching is a complex and enormously responsible task which is misunderstood and under-valued by society; and because these days, in the particular conditions in which most teachers work and most children and young people try to learn, teaching and getting people to learn can come to be a daily act of heroism. *It is ineffective* because, in the end, education and educational change have to be brought about with the teachers who are available here and now. No one is prepared to give of themselves when they are blamed instead of being patted on the back.

What a country's education is capable of achieving depends largely on who its teachers are and what they are able and willing to do. Adopting this perspective means understanding 'diagnosis' in education as an inventory not only of what is missing—typical lists of shortages to which the technocratic mentality in education has accustomed us—but also, and in particular, of what there is and what is possible: this is the true starting-point for action, mobilization and change.

From inputs to subjects

Teachers have long been regarded as just another input in educational provision competing (for resources, attention and time) with inputs such as infrastructure, educational technology and textbooks. This has been further exacerbated in recent times under the cost/benefit criteria applied to education policy and the World Bank's recommendations for improving primary education in developing countries. Of the nine 'inputs' mentioned by the World Bank as ingredients of quality, teachers—their knowledge, experience and pay—appear respectively fifth, sixth and eighth in order of priority.[15] The result is the recommendation to governments that they give priority to investment in those inputs appearing at the top of the list, in particular increased time of instruction, provision of textbooks—these being relied on in order to offset low levels of teacher training—and the encouragement of short in-service teacher training using distance facilities (Lockheed & Verspoor, 1991; World Bank, 1995).

Teachers can obviously not be equated with other inputs of educational provision. Teachers are people, bearers of knowledge, experience, wishes, emotions and values which exert a direct and decisive influence on what is taught and evaluated and how—that is, on the effective curriculum, the one that really matters. Furthermore, which inputs are used and how they are applied in the teaching and learning process depend greatly on the decision taken by the individual teacher. Latin America has a rich history of failed attempts to introduce apparently straightforward helpful measures (distribution of reading material, textbooks and manuals, installation of computers, increases in time, etc.) that did not take teachers into account.

In fact, parents and society appear to be becoming increasingly aware of the need to give priority to investment in teachers as a way of improving educational quality, as shown by opinion polls of parents in various countries during the 1990s.

From agents of educational reform to subjects of educational change

Two premises are discussed here: the distinction between educational *reform* and educational *change* and that between *agents* and *subjects*.

Reform and change. Educational *reform* and educational *change* have traditionally tended to be seen as the same thing: educational change (reform) is good in itself, there is no change outside reform, and reform (proposal, rules, document, plan) results in actual change (in reality, in the school, in the classroom). Given these premises, one understands why reforms have lacked an explicit strategy of public information, communication and persuasion—much less discussion—designed to explain the why, the what and the how of the proposed changes (the announcement of reform is assumed to be welcomed and supported by the population at large, including teachers); and why any criticism of or resistance to reform (by teachers or any other sector) has been viewed as resistance not to *a* reform proposal but to change, progress and modernity itself.

However, not all reform results in change and not all change is the result of reform. There is change that takes place independently of reform (or motivated by it but in another, possibly opposing, direction). Although it may often be imperceptible or insignificant to those who propose or study changes in education, education systems and institutions are, in fact, in a state of permanent change regardless of the sporadic proposals for change directed from the top (reform). These 'spontaneous' changes, which stem from the inherent dynamic of institutions in interaction with the environment, and from initiatives by teachers and other parties in the educational community aimed at responding to the needs and possibilities of each context and juncture, to the progress of knowledge and technology and to the lessons of experience, are generally recognized as *innovations* (Torres, 2000*a*).

Agents and subjects. The traditional reform pattern made it natural to distinguish between *reformers—subjects* who know, think, propose and take decisions (at the top)—and *teachers — agents* who execute, who are the only parties evaluated and who are the only parties responsible. This reformer/teacher 'top-down' relationship replicates, at the level of education policy, the teacher/pupil relationship typical of the conventional school model: those who *know* do not need to learn or to submit their ideas for consultation, dialogue and comparison with those who do not know. Alternatively, those who *do not know* have to learn, to correct themselves and be guided. For the former, change is essentially a one-way and external objective. Assuming that the reform proposal is technically sound and accurate, implementation—by the teachers—is seen as a problem of information and training, whose purpose is to ensure that the proposal is properly interpreted and handled. Thus, if

reform encounters problems, they will be problems of implementation and never of diagnosis, planning or design.

This way of devising and carrying out educational reform is being thoroughly called in question and is now in crisis. Changing education means changing the educational-reform model: viewing reform not as a sporadic event but as a continuous process; encouraging the link between reform and innovation and a perpetual two-way movement between 'above' and 'below'; making room for participation, consultation and social dialogue as essential ingredients; and treating teachers not only as implementers but also as architects of education policy.

Consideration of the role of teachers in educational change means visualizing that role in relation both to reform and to innovation as well as to the link between the two. For, as shown by experience and as increasingly recognized, neither change proposed and directed 'from above' (reform) nor change effected 'from below' (innovation) is effective alone and in isolation as a strategy for genuine educational change.

From school agents to citizens

Teachers are usually seen and treated (by education policy, the school system and society) on the basis of a single identity—as individuals who teach, as school agents. The various other identities of teachers—as individuals, men and women, workers, fathers and mothers of families, neighbours, consumers, citizens with rights and duties—do not count.

The traditional distinction between school and community as separate entities (people talk of 'linking school and community') has helped to type-cast teachers' identity as part of the former without noticing that these persons, too, live in and belong to the community and have interests and aspirations as parents, neighbours, voters and individuals who form part of local society and of the broader national society.

The very notion of teacher training is trapped in the rationale of the school. Training starts with the first day of class leading to the teaching certificate and is subdivided into two main categories (initial and in-service). The reality of 'lifelong learning' and the importance of family and school background in a teacher's professional attainments are ignored as far as teachers are concerned. The tendency is to look to educational institutions and programmes, courses, events, teaching packs and certificates as means of influencing teachers and developing their cultural capital; it is forgotten that teachers undergo daily exposure to many other forms of socialization, learning and behaviour unconnected with their teaching role, such as living together in the family and community, civic involvement, participation in interest groups, and access to the media and to information and communication technology. What a teacher cannot accept in his or her teaching role will perhaps be understood and accepted more easily as a parent. Daily access to newspapers, or even to the e-mail and the Internet, would probably do much more for teachers—in terms of self-esteem, motivation to learn, relationship with the outside world, sensitivity to and appreciation of difference, access to world culture, etc.—than

many courses and programmes formally labelled as 'teacher training' or leading to qualifications do at the moment.

The commitment of teachers to educational and school quality does not derive solely from their identity as school agents. The determination and performance of the best teachers are often related to their social concerns and their commitment to the local community; in fact, this element—social sensitivity, solidarity, political commitment—appears to be an important part of the impulse and capacity to be creative and to innovate.[16] The linkage between the *inside* and *outside* of school is in fact a problematic area of education policy and of the relationship between reformers and teachers: the former insist on classifying teachers as school agents with roles and participation limited to the school or, at the most, to the local community; the teachers for their part suffer the tension between their school identity and their social identity, following a marked-out course between teaching and welfare work, between the school and an 'external' reality which is no such thing (because it enters the school in company with the pupils and their parents and with the teachers themselves), which is not confined to the community sphere and in which they find both obstacles to, and motivations for, pressing on and giving the best of themselves.[17]

From adversaries to allies

Educational change can only be achieved *with* the teachers. Without them it is not possible, at least as long as we continue thinking in terms of school systems centred on individuals who teach, and not on machines. This also includes distance education, if we bear in mind that good distance education always includes a face-to-face component.

From the mechanisms to the terminologies employed, the relationship with teachers has traditionally been one of conflict. Paradoxically, conflict has become generalized at times when the flags of dialogue, consensus and consultation are hoisted. Throughout the region, teachers show signs and speak of breakdown, scepticism, suspicion, incomprehension, lack of esteem, exclusion, loss, exhaustion, harassment, feelings of being threatened, guilt, stress and anxiety. The deterioration in the physical and mental health of teachers and the recognition of work-related diseases became, during the 1990s, central issues of the teaching unions' agenda and platform, a subject of study and an area of judicial conflict between trade unions and governments.

Children's rights, which are widely recognized in the region, have usually been regarded as tools for protecting children from adults—especially at home and at school—and as a subject to be taught by teachers/adults at school. It is therefore not surprising that many teachers simply teach their pupils to recite those rights as a matter of form, often adding a list of duties on their own account. If the aim is to produce a child-friendly school, the approach would be to go for a strategic alliance with teachers and their organizations in order to work together to defend children's rights, both in and out of school. Defending children's rights corresponds to the interest not only of the children but also of the teachers, inasmuch as the low esteem

and social respect in which their task is held ties in with the low esteem and respect accorded to children in our societies.

Likewise, instead of aggravating the already difficult historical relationship between teachers and parents—as is occurring in consequence of a number of existing schemes for 'community management' of the school, whereby parents and the community are assigned a sort of policing function with respect to teachers and their work—what is needed is to encourage an all-round alliance between teachers and parents in which common interests affecting the quality and equity of education can be identified, constructed and defended (Hargreaves, 1999).

Dialogue, alliance, consultation and consensus-building are steep and rocky roads demanding much time and effort. But the single-track road, however broad and well paved, has proved to lead nowhere. Educational change is cultural change and a social task, and as such requires extensive participation and consultation among the various parties. Consultation and consensus-building mean recognizing the 'other', respecting him or her as different, seeking common ground, negotiating and making concessions, agreeing on a working agenda without denying that there is a conflict, but rather accepting it and dealing with it (Tedesco, 1997).

The State and teachers/teachers' organizations are two key actors in such an agreement because of their central place in education, the historical polarization of their positions in this region and the levels of confrontation which that polarization has reached. As long as they fail to recognize each other as allies in the crusade for a quality education for all, educational reform and change will continue to be an unattainable Utopia.

Notes

1. By *teachers* we mean class teachers, headteachers and school supervisors and inspectors.
2. By *reform* is meant the whole body of policies designed to produce change in the education system—generally following the conventional top-down centralized and vertical model—irrespective of the names used for it in the various countries (*improvement, modernization, transformation*, etc.) and its complexity or thoroughness (partial, superficial or radical changes, etc.). By *change* we mean the actual change which may or may not be the result of reform (for example, change resulting from spontaneous innovation by the various parties, from the inherent dynamics of educational institutions or even from resistance to reform or from attempts to adjust it to each context and to specific conditions).
3. The term teacher *training* is used to refer to both initial and in-service training in its various forms.
4. Mexico, Colombia and the Dominican Republic today constitute three 'atypical' cases. In Mexico, the *Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación* (SNTE—National Union of Education Workers), which is historically intertwined with the governing party (PRI), signed with the Government in 1992 the National Agreement for the Modernization of Basic Education, in which mutual concessions and commitments were laid down. In Colombia, unlike the other Latin American countries, the *Federación*

Colombiana de Educadores (FECODE—Colombian Educators' Federation) played a leading role in drawing up the National Education Act, defends the act and endorses national educational reform. In the Dominican Republic, the *Asociación Dominicana de Profesores* (ADP—Dominican Teachers' Association) took part in the process of consultation and definition of the Ten-Year Education Plan at the beginning of 1990 under which the Government and the ADP signed the Pact on the Future of Dominican Education. However, as the decade progressed, the pact eroded; the ADP is currently calling for a return to the spirit and policies laid down in the Ten-Year Education Plan (Loyo, 1997; Tiramonti, 1999; Torres 1999*b*).

5. There are few cases in which educational reforms processes have been documented and evaluated. Where efforts of this type have been made by some of the main actors behind the reform proposal and process, references, some of them self-critical, can be found about the outstanding 'debt' towards teachers. This is clear from a look at a number of reforms in the 1970s and 1980s. In the 1990s there were at least two such cases in the Hispanic world, namely the educational reform processes in Spain and Chile. In the Spanish case, two authors (one of them the main instigator and former director of the reform) state: 'The absence of full and effective participation by the teaching profession in the decisive phases of the reform process forms, in our view, the aspect of the Spanish educational reform most open to criticism. Although not the only one, this aspect is undoubtedly related to the coolness, indifference or rejection by certain sectors of the teaching profession regarding the new legal and regulatory framework' (Coll & Porlán, 1998, p. 24–27). In the case of Chile, two of the main architects conclude that 'the announcement of the reforms did not generate a discourse that incorporates teachers as main actors in those reforms', that 'a significant part of the teaching profession maintains a socio-affective attitude of discouragement and lack of perspectives' and that 'the reform has been successful in giving rise to new practices at school level, [but] its rhetoric at the macro level has not satisfied the teaching profession' (García-Huidobro & Cox, 1999, p. 42–44).
6. These increases have not met teachers' expectations. In the last two decades, teachers have experienced a serious deterioration in their incomes and living and working conditions. The 1990s witnessed numerous and prolonged teachers' stoppages and strikes in the majority of countries, mainly in pursuit of wage claims and increases in education budgets.
7. Nevertheless, the 1990s reforms continued to be mainly sectoral, linked to the school system only and concerned with educational supply much more than with educational demand.
8. A case of open and prolonged confrontation, with a high national and international profile, is that of Argentina. The '*Carpa Blanca*' (White Tent), set up in April 1997 by the *Confederación de Trabajadores de la Educación de la República Argentina* (CTERA—Confederation of Education Workers of Argentina) in the vicinity of the National Congress, in downtown Buenos Aires, was kept going for nearly three years. The tent was only the most visible symbol of a public dispute with substantial media coverage between the Government/Ministry of Education and teachers. The latter demanded, and continue to demand, not only a larger educational budget but also the abolition of the new Federal Education Act (1993).
9. In order to implement the 'Projects to Improve the Quality of Education', funded with international loans and with technical advice from the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), special implementing units located outside edu-

cation ministries were set up. This increased fragmentation of national educational policy. The education system has been operating as if there were two (or more) education ministries in each country—a traditional one and a 'modern' one with new resources responsible for reforming the system.

10. At the turn of the millennium, the Latin America and the Caribbean region is marked by three international educational reform initiatives: (i) the *Major Project of Education*, a regional initiative agreed in Mexico in 1979 and launched in Quito in 1981 and co-ordinated by UNESCO's Regional Office (UNESCO Santiago), with three goals for the year 2000: universal access to primary education; elimination of adult illiteracy; and improvement of educational quality and efficiency; (ii) *Education for All*, a worldwide initiative agreed in Jomtien in 1990 and promoted by UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP and the World Bank, with goals (essentially those of the PPE but with an 'expanded vision of basic education') for the year 2000 and now postponed until 2015, following the evaluation of the decade conducted at the World Forum on Education for All (Dakar, April 2000); and (iii) the *Plan for Universal Access to Education for the Year 2010* agreed at the Miami Summit called by President Clinton in 1994, and ratified at the Second Summit in 1998 in Santiago. This hemispheric initiative proposed goals for the primary, secondary and tertiary levels. The initiative, which is headed by the United States, is co-ordinated by the Governments of Mexico, Argentina and Chile. Taking part in it are several international, regional and national agencies (chief among them being the Organization of American States, the World Bank, the International Development Bank and USAID).
11. In one case only (Mexico) was this evaluation agreed with the trade union. In Chile, Colombia and other countries it has so far proved impossible to implement the measure because of opposition from the teaching organizations, which see in it an affront to their professional dignity and a punitive control mechanism designed to justify dismissals and temporary contracts.
12. There is a widespread simplification and trivialization of the lists—so common today—regarding the characteristics of the 'effective school' and the 'effective teacher', and particularly around the term 'learning facilitator'. Many authors mention it as the key to the new teacher role, but few seem to stop to think how this term is interpreted by teachers, parents and society, and what it implies in concrete terms: for example, how does one train teachers (both new and practising) to go from the current role of *instructor* to one of *facilitator*, how does one jump from a curricular, pedagogical, organizational school model centred on teaching to one centred on learning ?
13. In the 1990s, several countries in the region embarked on massive plans for teacher 'professionalization', in many cases involving large-scale programmes of teacher qualification through the granting of contracts to public and private universities—that often lacked the necessary experience and conditions to carry out the task.
14. States and trade unions both claim to be representative of 'teachers' views' about reform: ministerial authorities 'see' teachers 'involved' in reform and committed to it; for their part, the trade unions 'see' widespread teacher confusion and discontent. In each case, it is difficult to grasp the real situation in the absence of more objective information. There is a striking lack of research, surveys and opinion samples on this point, even in countries with a tradition and experience of this type of activity.
15. (1) Libraries; (2) instruction time; (3) homework; (4) textbooks; (5) teachers' knowledge; (6) teachers' experience; (7) laboratories; (8) teachers' salaries; and (9) class size. This order corresponds to the number of studies recorded by the World Bank that mentioned this factor as having a positive impact on educational quality.

16. A Latin American consultation organized by IIPE/UNESCO Buenos Aires in 1999 in order to identify 'learning needs of educational innovators at the local level' sheds interesting light on this point. The social/political/ideological commitment to social, and not only educational, transformation emerges as a key ingredient in educational innovation at local level (final report in preparation).
17. The dispute about the actual 'scope' of the teacher's work is obvious in the relationship between the State and the teachers' organizations. As concluded in the case of the Chilean reform: 'While one side (the authorities) aims at the school and conceives teacher participation in the context of making it professional and genuinely independent, the other side (teachers) is looking at the area of public discussion and debate.'

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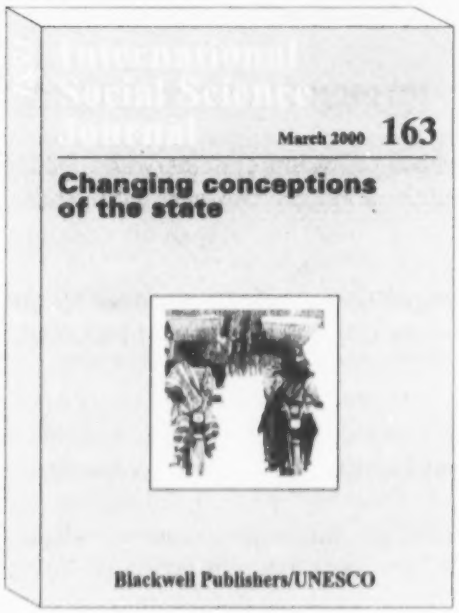

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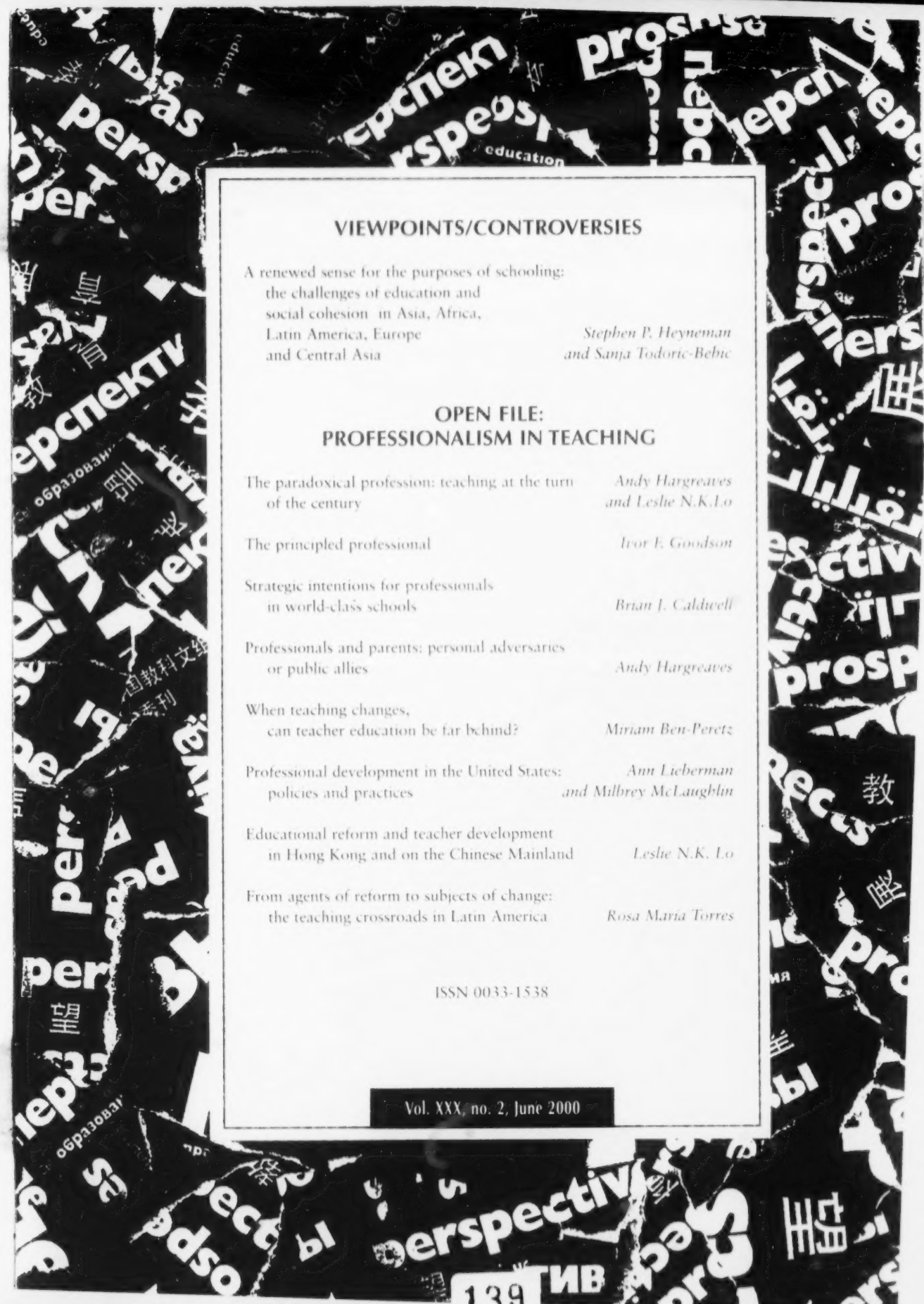

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